

# THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY



THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

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## FROM THE EDITOR

This issue presents six articles dealing with various topical subjects on international studies, social sciences, technology, tourist industry, culture and Indonesia's relationship with India.

The international studies in various universities in Indonesia were introduced about 25 years ago. Yet, in spite of their newness, the international studies have already created many problems. Mr. Juwono Sudarsono, who heads the Political Science Department of the University of Indonesia, sheds light on the Problems in Training and Research of International Studies in Indonesia.

The demand for knowledge about social sciences in Indonesia has increased rapidly in recent years. Dr. Harsja W. Bachtiar, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, contributes an article on Social Sciences in Indonesia. He discusses various issues and perspectives of this subject.

The role of technology in the era of development can no longer be neglected. With the ever increasing presence of foreign investors in the country, the flow of the latest innovations is unavoidable. As to our national development technology should be fully exploited for the sake of the country's progress and not the contrary. Prof. Iskandar Alisjahbana deals primarily with the role of Technology Development.

This issue coincides with the convening of the PATA Conference in Jakarta. The importance of the tourist industry to the country's development is already evident. Special care should be taken, however, in the selection of the sites where tourist facilities will be set up. Prof. Selo Soemardjan in a discussion of the problems and possibilities of Tourism Site Development Planning puts emphasis on the point that rapid progress of the tourist industry should not be detrimental to the preservation of local culture.

Mr. Wiratmo Sukito has long been engaged in studies of culture and this issue carries his contribution on the National Resilience and the Role of Culture.

Despite the attempts of both sides to promote their mutual ties, Indo-Indonesian relations have never achieved desirable goals. Each side still seems to maintain the status quo. In this respect, Mr. Dilip Chandra, reviews the relationship from India's point of view. He outlines some critical areas in this relationship and gives some thoughts to improve these ties.

O.S.R.

# INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN INDONESIA: PROBLEMS IN TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Juwono SUDARSONO\*)

An increasing awareness of the interdependency of international and national affairs has spurred interest among journalists, politicians, academics, professional groups and student organizations on the need for intensive systematic advanced training and research of international studies in Indonesia.

The interest comes about as Indonesia increases her political, economic and cultural commitments to major areas of the world, with the possible exception of Latin America and Africa south of the Maghreb. Interest has also in a sense been forced from the nature of the present international political and economic system, which presents the Indonesian political, economic and intellectual community with the problem of facing tensions arising out of two fundamentally conflicting factors: (1) the vast number and multiplying targets of national development goals, comprising economic growth, equitable distribution of welfare as well as social betterment, and (2) the perceived as well as *real* decline in the capability of national policy instruments to meet those targets as a result of the rapid expansion of international economic penetration. Indeed, it has now become almost a cliché to state that no national development plan can be seriously conducted without taking into account the international dimensions which shape the plan's

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\*) The author acknowledges his debt to friends and colleagues, students and journalists, in and outside of universities in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and East Java for information and ideas exchanged which eventually became the basis for the materials used in this article. Views and opinions expressed here are entirely his own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions or policies of the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Indonesia.



underlying assumptions and which to a larger extent determine its success or failure over sustained periods of time.

The importance of the nature of the current international political and economic structure has only recently been recognised by specialists in Indonesia after many years of prolonged concentration on security and political-diplomatic issues between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the relative decline of United States hegemony of recent years. The shifts in international economic power among factors in the international system—especially of Western Europe and Japan, the tensions arising out of new sources of conflict within the Indonesian political and economic communities between groups which benefit from these trends and groups which bear their costs, the deep and accelerating interpenetration between domestic economies, and the emergence of entirely new trans-national factors, force academics and policy-makers alike to reconsider their outlook on the nature and problems of classical notions of independence, interdependence and dependence.

A report of the Brookings Institution, recently indicates that between 1950 and 1971 world exports rose five fold, now exceeding \$ 300 billion; trade grew at an annual average rate of 10%, much faster than increases in world income; rapid increases in services industries, direct investments, portfolio movements and shifts of liquidity balances have entirely changed the structure and norms of international behavior; technology and management are increasingly being exported—in short, virtually all modern economic sectors which any nation depends upon for its economic viability and political credibility in world affairs rely heavily on external transactions\*).

Indonesia's exposure—and dependence—on three vitally important power configurations of the world (Europe, Japan and the United States) raises questions which increasingly call for major efforts for the provision of intensive advanced training and research involving interdisciplinary work. For example, what are the likely dominant international political and economic issues which Indonesia faces in the next five, eight or ten years from now and how important

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\* Edward R. Fried, "Foreign Economic Policy: The Search for A Strategy" in Henry Owen, ed., *The Next Phase in Foreign Policy*, Brookings Institution, 1973.

are they likely to be in domestic economic and political terms? How will Western Europe, Japan and the United States perceive Southeast Asia in their respective scale of priorities, in individual terms as well as members of the community of developed nations? Secondly, is the present stage of knowledge about international issues, about Europe, Japan and the United States, adequate to cope with these problems? How should they be related to the question of regional cooperation in Southeast Asia? On issues where present academic or empirical knowledge is insufficiently strong, weak or absent, what training and research work needs to be done? Finally, what sources are available (or can be made available) so that future generations of Indonesians can adequately cope with the challenges of the future international order?

These questions continually need to be raised to government officials, to academics in universities and research institutes, to concerned journalists and intellectuals of the mass media and to students concerned with the future course of Indonesia's position in the changing international system. Awareness of the need for systematic training and research to a wider section of the Indonesian political and economic community will be important not only because the complexity of the issues demands participation and support from virtually all sections of the community's intellectual sources but also because systematic training and research may be the only way Indonesia can effectively conduct its foreign relations with the rest of the world in a manner appropriate to the demands of the high-powered international economic and political system. Political acumen or diplomatic intuition alone will not suffice in the future.

## II

The universities in Indonesia are inadequately prepared for this major re-orientation effort. Both in terms of their organizational structure and curricula content, and in the methods of presentation and identification of salient problems, virtually none of the 40 odd state-supported institutions of higher education possesses strong



interdisciplinary training and research programs to deal with the above issues. Heightened interest in international studies has not been supported by a strong commitment to rigorously study the ramifications of international economics, and domestic and international politics.

One possible reason is that funds for international studies are spread around thinly among too many centres for research and development, both civilian as well as military, which often work uncoordinatedly and in many cases even haphazardly. Centres for international studies or institutes with ample financial resources are mostly found outside of universities. This reflects in part the bifurcation of the Indonesian political and economic domestic power structure, the armed forces' domination of the political scene notwithstanding.

Another possible reason is that government planning units demand quick-yielding and functional research programs, those that readily provide insight into resolving pressing policy-problems. The "ne'er world of international studies" as cynics once put it, seems so out of place and wasteful compared to agriculture and rural modernization, education, population problems and unemployment. Finally and perhaps most important, the inadequacy of the educational system constitutes a key weakness in the total effort to create that critical mass of international studies specialists which, together with strong assistance and commitment from the media and other non-academic communities, could become the pioneering effort to establish systematic training and research work needed in the years ahead.

### III

Universities have generally been slow to reshape their organizational base and to provide the vital improvements required to meet the demands for the maintenance of academic excellence and sensitivity to the problems the society faces. In the years since independence, there has been as many calls for interdisciplinary



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work as there has been changes of Ministers of Education and Culture, rectors, deans and assorted heads of departments. Today many universities retain the organizational structure of the Dutch colonial period, maintain on-going systems that mainly reflect the existence of a federation of faculties instead of strong university-wide sense of community and are generally uncertain as to the scale of priorities they want to commit themselves to.

However, obstacles to more integrated multidisciplinary teaching and research programs are not the result of academic politics alone. Some of the problems of organizational rigidity can also be related to the fact that there is all the difference in the world between lip-service and fruitful *academic* exhortations for interdisciplinary studies and *professional* (financial) commitments to them. The gap has never been more apparent than in the university teaching structure, where courses in international economics (itself already a highly diversified and specialised sub-field of economics) are taught totally unrelated to the teaching of international politics (a sub-division of the general field of political science more appropriately termed than "international relations").

Prestige and job-market opportunities also account for the differentials between allocations of research and training funds to faculties of economics and non-economic social science and humanities faculties. The differences are in part a reflection of the priority given to economic related development programs (particularly during the period of the First Five-Year Plan); but a major factor may also be that the general public supports preferences for "hard projects" rather than for "soft programs".

In the case of the establishment of programs in international studies, public support for potentially useful and functional training and research work can be the prime factor for universities or government bureaucracies starting the mechanism going. Thus an effort to sustain an Institute for Regional Research at the University of Indonesia had to be temporarily suspended because both the university and the Ministry of Education and Culture considered that the real, as well as felt needs amongst the political public for such an institution were insufficiently strong to justify its continued support. Likewise, an effort to establish an American Studies Program at Gajah Mada University in late 1971 was aborted because of lack of commitment from important sections of the university

community. It became increasingly difficult to justify programs which on the surface had very little potential as well as effective contribution to the immediate resolving of Indonesia's many pressing problems. In other words, both programs suffered from the heavy competition for scarce research funds, for which government planning agencies zealously demand strict accounting.

On the level of teaching of international studies (or, international relations, as it is more popularly known) the problem is essentially one of trying to cope with the *rapid rate of obsolescence*, which constitutes the most important feature in the presentation of courses in international politics and economics today. Most of the international relations texts used in course-work, seminars or academic assignments were developed during the years of the Cold War and the period of American supremacy over the course of world events during the 1950s and late 1960s. At a time when people from almost all cross-sections of academic disciplines question the adequacy of the nation-state as the prime unit of analysis for understanding the international order of the 1970s virtually all international relations courses in Indonesia are taught with a "straight politics" perspective. A case in point is the excessive reverence for the renowned text, *Politics Among Nations*, by Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau\*) and the smug disdain of utilising source materials from the popular media for academic discussion or term-paper writing. Too often courses rely heavily on outdated texts (or worse, mimeographed editions of selected chapters) handed down over generations of lecturers and teaching assistants.

A related inadequacy in the teaching of international studies is the tendency to focus on grand, major-power relations which have little implication for Indonesia's problems. This again reflects the influence of outdated texts, which concentrate on security issues, "balance of power" problems discussed through mechanistic "billiard-ball" patterns of thought which may be of academic interest but which provide nothing to the Indonesian student on the significance

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\*) A newspaper article the author wrote in *Kompas* daily of March 27, 1974, aroused critical comments from colleagues and students because of its doubts on the use of the Morgenthau text for courses taught at universities and armed forces staff colleges. Significantly, academics from Hasanuddin University, who are more exposed to the interpenetrative influences of international economic activity, generally agreed with the need to concentrate on economic problems.



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of his undertaking a course which, as Karl Deutsch once put it, deals with the problem of the survival of mankind.

A long and sustained effort in the overall restructuring of international studies will have to be made before students can question the political and economic problems which arises out of the increased complexity of "linkage politics": the impact of multinational corporations on domestic intra-elite conflict; ways and means to adequately safeguard the interests of Indonesian labourers from possible exploitation by foreign companies; the sociological and cultural impact of high-consumption mass culture of the industrialised countries to the cultural orientations of future generations of high school and university students in urban centres of Indonesia; and other non state-to-state aspects of international studies.

Every issue of international politics and economics blends economics, internal politics, and international politics. Yet very few academics reach outside of their own disciplines and those who have often encouraged interdisciplinary research have not themselves committed much time and effort in the projects they publicly advocate.

### IV

A new outlook in research strategies is therefore vitally important not only because of the complexity of the problems which need to be examined, but also because the findings from such an outlook will in the long run prove crucial for the future of viable and effective teaching programs comprising the transmission of inter-disciplinary knowledge. Most economists still regard international affairs as marginally important to their prime concern with domestic issues. Many political scientists and administrators in Indonesia do not address themselves to international economic issues at all. All must be persuaded of the necessity for integrated work.



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The specialization syndrome compounds the difficulties of initiating integrated approaches, both in government and in the universities. Some academics in Yogyakarta and Bandung fear that interdisciplinary training would undermine a potential scholar's academic capacity (and, in consequence, his credibility) in a single discipline and in the end may produce dilettantes with no firm intellectual foundation. For professional reasons, specialists in a specific discipline find it difficult to integrate patterns of thought from other fields. In any case, interdisciplinary work, while encouraged by one's intellectual and academic peers, does not necessarily result in social recognition of scholarship ability.

Because of the difficulty in persuading fellow academicians, government bureaucrats and planning units to support interdisciplinary work, there seems to be two ways by which such an effort may be achieved without too much initial cost. The first would be to allow individuals or limited groups of creative young scholars to work under supervision of a senior research associate well-versed in the theory and practice of international economic and political relationships. A modest but unofficial project is currently being conducted by a member of the research staff of the Institute for Economic and Social Research of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Indonesia, for a group of graduate students from the Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Social Sciences. The project recognises the long gestation period required to produce a critical mass of research-oriented students and junior staff, a fact compounded by the difficulty in marshalling institutional support from the formal university bureaucracy. Understandably, initial costs of beginning a new institute for international political and economic affairs would be high and hard to justify in terms of budgetary allocation. Current available resources are already spread too thinly and existing programs and institutes would suffer drastically if further diversion of funds and qualified scholars were to be committed.

The second alternative would be to strengthen existing research institutes and to persuade them to establish an international section dealing with the macro as well as micro-level implications of the current international system for domestic political and economic problems. Even if this option were to be pursued, there would still be problems in trying to reconcile two schools of thought in regard

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to the professional career choices of scholars or academics involved in such an "in-house" program: those who believe that a scholar should prove his worth in one discipline and then diversify his interests in other fields, and those who believe that future scholars should be trained (both in advanced study and in research) on an interdisciplinary basis from the undergraduate level.

A more practical outlook may in the end result in what many people in the media have advocated in the past few months namely the establishment of a community of government officials, academics, journalists and selected members of the business community to set up an informal core of foreign and international studies specialists which regularly holds meetings and publishes its proceedings to make them available to the general public. The Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta has served such a function since its inception. It may require some time, however, before its facilities can be more fully utilised by a wider (and younger) section of the intellectual and university community in Jakarta and other major cities throughout Indonesia.

In the meantime the one institution which provides the cheapest, fastest and most readable source of data on international studies remains the Indonesian press. In some cases, the Jakarta media's reference and documentation sections are superior to the libraries of most faculties of social-political sciences, arts and letters and law. The newspaper clipping service and documentation section remains until today the most underutilised source of information for research on empirical and policy issues by either government, academic or research institutes. Recognition of the media's potential and effective roles in conducting basic data collection, analysis of problems and events and as forums for *conducting* needed cognitive change among various sectors of the Indonesian community, remains one of the key problems in overcoming Indonesia's shortcomings in the training and research of international studies. It is through the media, after all, that we "participate" and "involve" ourselves in international events; it is through the media's many forums that ideas, perceptions, policies and indeed, research priorities are often shaped. So long as the book publishing industry cannot adequately provide the intellectual and general public with the necessary data to be weighted and analysed, the Indonesian newspapers will remain the prime important source of recorded data of events. It is



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a pity, therefore, that the full use of the newspapers as a vital component in the training and research of international studies has not been adequately appreciated by the majority of academics and students in the universities.

### V

There are a number of joint-cooperative efforts which needs to be strongly supported if the number of specialists in international studies is to be increased to meet future demands. On the level of cooperation among universities in Indonesia some initial progress has been made through a series of meetings under the auspices of the advisory panel on social sciences development, the so-called sub-consortium system. Feeder faculties of social and political sciences from Gajah Mada University (Yogyakarta), Pajajaran State University (Bandung), Hasanuddin University (Ujung Pandang) and the University of Indonesia (Jakarta) have jointly agreed on a division of concentration on foreign area studies. For many years to come, however, most of the training of teaching staff and research associates will have to be undertaken abroad. Efforts are also being made to encourage inter-faculty joint teaching programs which will allow students from different faculties to pursue advanced study under an interdisciplinary team-teaching program. Given the present focus on economic development, however, perhaps a major effort from economists interested in international politics may be the only way to establish serious research programs involving the participation of sociologists, mass communicators, anthropologists and social psychologists in the study of various problems arising out of the increasing interpenetration of international and domestic issues.

On the level of cooperation between universities in the Southeast Asia region, an effort to jointly sponsor international studies (e.g. studies on intra-ASEAN relations as well as ASEAN relations with other economic power groupings) has yet to be offered by any government, institute or private organization in the ASEAN member-countries. There has, in fact, been relatively little sense



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of cognizance among ASEAN member nations in terms of, for example, the needs and priorities of each member country's national development goals within the overall regional cooperative structure. Studies which clarify each member country's real priorities towards non-ASEAN political and economic relations constitute additional areas of research useful for academic as well as policy purposes.

Advanced training and research programs, like many other creative endeavours, not only requires continuous funding and organizational innovation. In the last analysis, training and research very much depend on the celebrated political will necessary to back up academic commitments. One hopes that in Indonesia, where academic capabilities are weak but where political will is rhetorically strong, a change for the better will be realised in the years to come.

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# THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN INDONESIA\*

Harsja W. BACHTIAR

The state of the social sciences in Indonesia should be viewed with a continuous awareness of the fact that the country is comprised of an archipelago of 13,667 islands with much variation in physical environment, including natural resources, and climatic conditions; the fact that it has a population of more than 120,000,000 persons with much variation in physical characteristics and biological endowment; the fact that this population is geographically unequally distributed with the island of Java as the most and the island of Irian as the least densely populated area among the larger islands; the fact that its population is comprised of a number of ethnic groupings, each with its own home territory, its own language, its own cultural tradition and, therefore, its own social structure, ranging from the highly developed feudal type of social structure of the Javanese (1971: 54,750,710 people), to the shifting materially poor, bands in the interior areas of Kalimantan and West Irian; the fact that there is great variation in the duration of time of Dutch colonial domination experienced by the many different ethnic societies, ranging from about 350 years in the Moluccas and certain parts of Java and only a few decades in certain other parts of Indonesia; and the fact that the Indonesian people has acquired its independence by fighting against the returning Dutch colonial power, after 3½ years of Japanese military occupation, at the end of World War II.

Like in many other literate societies, some sort of written knowledge on social realities was already in existence in some

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\* The present article was originally a paper presented to the Symposium on "Social Sciences Research Development in Asia" organized by UNESCO, held at Kopo (West Java) on February 18—22, 1974.

areas of Indonesia long before the introduction of the more modern form of social science reporting. In fact, the more modern forms of social science literature, as developed in Europe and America, are so new that the concept of social science is still rather vague as to what it is supposed to refer to although there is widespread awareness among its leaders and its educated citizenry of the potential utility of the social sciences in the endeavor to seek clarification of societal and other social problems in the country and ways and means to solve these bothersome problems.

Scholarly and scientific knowledge, especially as found in the academic community, is generally divided in Indonesia into two categories: the 'exact sciences' and the 'non-exact sciences', the first held to comprise the natural and technological sciences — including mathematics — and the second held to contain all the other fields of knowledge, identified as legal studies, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science, history, education, administrative sciences, psychology, linguistics, literature and philosophy. The 'exact sciences' is frequently associated with the notion that this category of knowledge requires the use of equipment and is therefore more expensive than the other category, the 'non-exact sciences', which, so it is assumed, can do without much expenditure.

On the secondary school level the divisions have been somewhat different. Three distinct streams are recognized in the general high-schools, namely the humanities stream or type 'A' schools, the mathematics and natural science stream or type 'B' schools, and the economics and law stream or type 'C' schools, each having its own curriculum. The curriculum of the type 'A' schools includes such subjects as foreign languages, literature, history, anthropology, sociology and political institutions. On the secondary school level, therefore, the social sciences are subdivided into economics and the non-economic social science disciplines. Both subdivisions are, of course, considered to be 'non-exact' sciences. Efforts are being made to minimize the rigid divisions into distinct streams in the secondary schools.

In the general endeavor to improve and promote the development of higher education in Indonesia, the Minister of Education and



Culture has instituted five consortia, each to act as an advisory body with respect to the fields of knowledge it is associated with. The disciplines are grouped into five aggregates, namely (1) Technological and Natural Sciences, (2) Medical Sciences, (3) Agricultural Sciences, (4) Education, and (5) Social Sciences and Humanities. Since the Consortium of Social Sciences and Humanities covers a wide range of different disciplines, it is the only consortium which is sub-divided into sub-consortia, each with its own chairman, secretary, council and committees. Its sub-consortia are the Sub-Consortium of Law, Social Science, Economics, Psychology, and Letters and Philosophy. The place of history and anthropology, currently held to be the concern of the Sub-Consortium of Letters and Philosophy since both disciplines have been and still are the responsibility of the Faculties of Letters, is being questioned since the leading figures of these two disciplines consider their disciplines now to be part of the social sciences rather than of the humanities. It should be noted also that although law, economics and psychology are generally regarded as part of the social sciences, the Consortium has a special Sub-Consortium for 'social sciences', distinct from the Sub-Consortia of Law, Economics, or Psychology. The Sub-Consortium of Social Science is held to concern itself with sociology, political science, administrative sciences, criminology, social work, and journalism or mass communication.

It should also be noted that the Consortia of Education and Agricultural Sciences are also to some extent concerned with the social sciences. Education has, in fact, better claims to be considered part of the social sciences than, for example, clinical psychology. Part of the agricultural sciences is inevitably concerned with the social and economic activities of the peasantry or rural communities, therefore having vested interest in rural sociology and agricultural economics, both, of course, very much part of the social sciences.

A proposal, submitted by the Coordinator of the Consortium of Social Sciences and Humanities, is now being considered by the Advisory Council for Higher Education in its effort to bring some better order in the present somewhat anarchical state of the disciplines in the country's higher education system. The proposal

suggests the replacement of the division into 'exact' and 'non- exact' sciences by the more widely used division into natural sciences, social sciences and humanities with, if necessary, the separation of technological from natural sciences.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Modern social science knowledge was first introduced to pupils of the vocational secondary schools which were established by the colonial government, such as the *kweekschool* or teachers training school, the OSVIA (later known as MOSVIA) or the School for Government Administrators, and the *Rechtsschool* or the Law School; the Dutch oriented General Secondary Schools (HBS), and the Indonesian oriented General Secondary Schools (AMS). The social science subjects taught in these schools were geography, ethnology, and history.

Immediately after the end of World War I groups of Indonesian young men were sent, or went on their own, to study law in the Netherlands, mainly at the University of Leyden. A smaller number of students took up philology and what was then known as 'Indology', now more known as 'Indonesian Studies'.

In 1924 the first Faculty of Law was established in Jakarta as the second institution of higher education in colonial Indonesia, the first being the Faculty of Technology, established in Bandung in 1920. The curriculum of the Faculty of Law included courses in *adat* (customary) law, anthropology, sociology, economics, and political institutions, taught by Dutch professors until an Indonesian scholar, R. Soepomo, was appointed Professor of Adat Law in 1939. The Faculty had, in fact, a socio-economic program but until 1936 only two Indonesians made use of the opportunity to take up a non-legal social science program. The socio-economic program offered the same degree as the other programs of the Faculty of Law, namely the *Meester in de Rechten* (Mr.), or Master of Law, degree. In 1939 the Faculty of Law had 375 students, consisting of 249 Indonesians, 50 students of Dutch descent and 51 students



of Chinese descent. Sociology was taught until 1929 by Prof. B. Schrieke, a Dutch scholar who was very much influenced by Max Weber in his effort to study Javanese patrimonial bureaucracies and such problems as the emergence of Communism.

A Bestuursacademie, or Academy for Administration, was established in Jakarta in 1939 to provide academic training for Indonesian senior government administrators.

In 1940, more than 10 years after a proposal for its establishment was accepted by the Colonial Government, a Faculty of Letters and Philosophy was established in Jakarta. The new Faculty offered programs in ethnology and history in addition to programs in languages, literature, and philosophy.

The three institutions of higher education where the social sciences were taught were closed when the Japanese armed forces defeated the Dutch colonial power in 1942 and occupied the country during the remaining years of World War II. The Dutch language was prohibited, creating the necessary condition for the adoption and spread of the Malay language as the Indonesian national language.

On August 17, 1945, the independence of the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed by the Indonesian nationalist leaders, two days afterwards followed by the establishment of the Higher Education Council of the Republic of Indonesia which immediately re-established the Faculties of Medicine, Law and Letters in Jakarta, the Faculty of Agriculture in Bogor, and the Faculty of Technology in Bandung. The Dutch, however, succeeded to return to Jakarta, the other major coastal towns of Indonesia and some additional towns such as Bogor and Bandung in the interior. The Republican Government transferred its capital to Yogyakarta, Central Java, followed by many of the instructors and students of its institutions of higher education.

The returning Dutch colonial Government established a Temporary University, the first university in Indonesia, in Jakarta in 1946 to attract the Indonesian youth but did not succeed to acquire many of them so that it had to remain content with mostly students of European and Chinese descent. The university, where



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Dutch continued to be the medium of instruction, was renamed the Universiteit van Indonesie or University of Indonesia.

The Indonesian republicans in Dutch occupied Jakarta established the National University as a private counter university, while their colleagues in Yogyakarta established the Gajah Mada University in 1949. In 1952 the state university in Yogyakarta, which is currently the largest university in the country, had six faculties, including a Faculty of Law, Social and Political Science, with Prof. Mr. Drs. Notonagoro as Dean, and a Faculty of Letters, Education and Philosophy, with Prof. Drs. Sigit as Dean. In both universities the language of instruction was the official language of the new Republic, namely the Indonesian language. In 1950, when the Indonesian republicans acquired control of Jakarta and other parts of what was known as the Netherlands East Indies, the Higher Education Council of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta was merged with the Dutch controlled Universiteit van Indonesie to become the present University of Indonesia, which, however, retained its more Western orientation.

The social sciences became the concern of the Faculty of Law and Sociology, headed by Prof. Mr. Djokosutono, and the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, headed by Prof. Dr. R. Prijono.

The first Faculty of Economics was established by the Dutch colonial Government, with 11 Dutch instructors and 36 students, in Ujung Pandang, then known as Macassar, in 1948. The language of instruction was Dutch. In 1950, however, the Faculty had to be closed since its Professors left Indonesia after the Government of the Netherlands had to recognize Indonesia's independence. In 1952 a Faculty of Economics was established at the University of Indonesia with Prof. Sunario Kolopaking, a lawyer, as its first Dean, who was soon succeeded by Prof. Dr. Soemitro Djojohadikoesoemo, an economist. A year afterwards the Faculty of Economics at Ujung Pandang was reopened as a branch of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. Together with a Faculty of Law, established in 1952, and a Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Economics became the core of Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang, established in 1956 as the first university outside the island of Java.

A. Teaching

Social sciences are presently taught in all universities and a diversity of professional schools outside the university system. At present there are 26 state universities, spread all over the Indonesian archipelago in such a way that each province has at least one university. The state universities are (location and year of establishment in parentheses): University of Indonesia (Jakarta, 1947), Gajah Mada University (Yogyakarta, Central Java, 1949), Airlangga University (Surabaya, East Java, 1954), Hasanuddin University (Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, 1954), Andalas University (Padang, West Sumatra, 1956), Pajajaran University (Bandung, West Java, 1957), University of North Sumatra (Medan, North Sumatra, 1957), Seriwijaya University (Palembang, South Sumatra, 1960), Lambung Mangkurat University (Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, 1960), Diponegoro University (Semarang, Central Java, 1961), Syiah Kuala University (Darussalam, Aceh 1961), Sam Ratulangi University (Manado, North Sulawesi, 1961), Udayana University (Den Pasar, Bali, 1962), University of Riau (Pekan Baru, Central Sumatra, 1962), University of Mataram (Mataram, Lombok, 1962), Purnawarman University (Samarinda, East Kalimantan, 1962), Pattimura University (Ambon, Moluccas, 1962), Cenderawasih University (Jayapura, West Irian, 1962), Jenderal Sudirman University (Purwokerto, Central Java, 1963), Brawijaya University (Malang, East Java, 1963), University of Jambi (Telanaipura, Central Sumatra, 1963), University of Tanjung Pura (Pontianak, West Kalimantan, 1963), University of Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, 1963), University of Jember (Jember, East Java, 1964), and University of Lampung (Teluk Betung, South Sumatra, 1965). In addition to these state universities, in a number of major towns there are also private universities which are generally of lower academic quality although a few can be compared favorably with the better state universities.

The total number of faculties in the social sciences found at the state universities can be seen below:



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Social science faculties	Number of state universities
Faculty of Law	22
Faculty of Economics	24
Faculty of Social Sciences*	14
Faculty of Letters**	10
Faculty of Education and Teachers Training***	24
Faculty of Psychology	3
Faculty of Journalism	1
Faculty of Philosophy	1

Faculties of Law offer courses in the legal field but their curriculum requires the students also to take 'Introductory sociology', 'Introductory anthropology' and 'Introductory economics' courses. Some faculties also offer courses in the sociology of law. The Faculties of Economics offer courses in general economics, business economics, business administration, management, marketing, development economics, monetary economics and banking, accountancy, and demography. Each of the Faculties of Social and Political Science — their name is being changed into Faculties of Social Science — have a number of departments from the following selection: sociology, public administration, international relations, political science, social welfare, sociatry, journalism, and criminology. A Faculty of Letters may have a number of departments associated with the following fields of study: national language and literature; Indonesian ethnic (Javanese, Sundanese, Makassarese-Buginese, etc.) languages and literature, foreign (English, French, German, Dutch, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, and Japanese) languages and literature, history, archaeology, anthropology and history. The Faculties of Psychology are divided into two types, one being a branching out of a Faculty of Medicine (University of Indonesia) and therefore dominated by clinical psychology and the other being

\* Actually with the exception of the faculty at the University of Indonesia, all these faculties are still designated as Faculties of Social and Political Science.

\*\* The Faculty at Gajah Mada University is designated as Faculty of Letters and Culture.

\*\*\* Since these faculties are located in special institutes there are actually 84 faculties, distributed among 24 universities and institutes of teachers training and education.

a branching out of a Faculty of Education (Gajah Mada University). The nature of the Faculties of Education and Faculties of Teachers Training is clearly indicated by their names. There is only one Faculty of Philosophy, located at Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, and only one Faculty of Journalism, located at Pajajaran University, Bandung.

The private universities model themselves as much as possible after the state universities to meet the requirements for official recognition of their degrees. With the exception of three or four universities, these private universities tend to be smaller and to have less facilities than the state universities. The official general program prescribes three years of study for acquiring the first degree (*Sarjana Muda*) and an additional two years of study for the second degree (*Sarjana*). The system is being changed since about three years ago with an extension of the duration of study for the first degree from three to four years, the first degree, unlike in the past, to be regarded as a completed unit of study and not just as a preparation for study on a higher level.

In addition to the universities, there are 11 Institutes of Teachers Training and Education, known by its abbreviation as 'IKIP'. Each of these institutes is comprised of all or a few of the following faculties: Faculty of Social Science Teachers Training, Faculty of Exact Sciences Teachers Training, Faculty of Technology Teachers Training, Faculty of Arts and Letters Teachers Training and Faculty of Education. All these institutes are scheduled to be integrated with the universities. The universities and institutes of higher education (Teachers Training and Education, Technology, Agriculture) are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Culture.

In the field of theology, mention should be made of the State Institutes of Islamic Religion (IAIN), spread all over the archipelago, the Protestant Higher School of Theology in Jakarta, and the Roman Catholic Higher Seminaries. Sociology and anthropology are regarded as required subjects at these institutions.

Among the non-university institutions of higher education mention should be made of the various service academies, usually associated with particular administrative Departments (Ministries), such as the Military Academy of Law, associated with the



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Department of Defense and Security, the Academy of Trade, associated with the Department of Trade, and the Academy of Textiles, associated with the Department of Industry. These academies also offer university degrees, although mostly only the first degree (*Sarjana Muda*). Efforts are being made to integrate these service academies — mostly in the social sciences — with the universities. However, some of these academies have grown into large scale institutes, such as the Institute of Home Affairs and the Institute of Finance, which considerably decreases the likelihood of integration with the universities. These institutes also offer the second degree (*Sarjana*).

The reported total number of registered students in the institutions of higher education in Indonesia in 1973 is 329,300 although the number of students in the state universities and institutes is approximately 117,600. The other students are associated with a great variety of service academies and such institutes of higher education as the State Institutes of Islamic Religion. In fact, about 97,900 students are not under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Culture, but rather under the jurisdiction of some of the other administrative Departments, such as the Department of Religious Affairs and the Department of Defense and Security.

The 117,600 students at the state universities and institutes are distributed among the various faculties in the following manner:

Law	11.3%	Medicine	10.0%
Economics	12.0%	Agriculture	9.7%
Social Science	6.1%	Technology	13.2%
Letters	2.9%	Science	3.8%
Psychology	0.8%	Others	1.5%
Education/Teachers Training	28.7%		

In order to get a notion of the number of Sarjana degree holders which are produced by a faculty every year, the number of graduates of the Faculty of Social Science, University of Indonesia, who acquired their Sarjana degree in the academic year of 1973 is here quoted: sociology: 1; political sciences: 5; public administration 10; business administration: 6; journalism: 1; social welfare: 4; and criminology: 2.

## B. Research

After Indonesia succeeded to acquire its independence, the social science disciplines were expected to produce information, based on scientific research, for policy making. In institutions of higher education which in the first years of the new republic were still practically all located on the island of Java, research programs were undertaken to collect information in a great number of village communities for action in the field of community development. The data collectors, for "data collecting" is a better designation of the type of work undertaken by those who went to spend some time in the villages gathering information than "research", came from such a diversity of disciplines as administrative science, sociology, anthropology, economics, education and law. Most of the work lacked any adequate theoretical framework and were oblivious of crucial methodological problems. Consequently, although in quite a number of cases much factual information had been collected, most of the reports — many programs did not produce any report — were of a dubious nature. Nevertheless, many social science instructors and students did acquire an awareness of the need for more adequate field work, although at the same time also a sense of frustration for the lack of proper guidance in such a venture. A few individual social scientists, who worked on their own, produced much better results in their village study field work.

Gradually, however, a few disciplines, primarily as a result of training given by more experienced, better academically trained foreign social scientists, developed the know-how of empirical research work while the other disciplines lacked behind in this particular field of activities. One or two anthropologists began to contribute significant studies, based on field work. The economists, agriculturalists, and educationists proved to be able to develop knowledge based on empirical research, quantitatively and, to a certain extent with respect to the first two disciplines, also qualitatively, much quicker than the social scientists in the other disciplines where the normative approach remained to be a serious constraint.

Although most of the serious research work is undertaken by university people, particularly by instructors and students of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, the Bogor Institute of Agriculture



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in Bogor, Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, and Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang, some institutions outside the university system also produce significant empirical social research work. The publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics are, of course, very important in spite of their many problems of reliability. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS) and the National Institute for Cultural Studies, both research institutes of the autonomous Indonesian Institute of Sciences, produce many scholarly publications in economics, demography, sociology, political science and history, in addition to articles on public issues which places especially LEKNAS frequently in the center of the general public's as well as the Government's attention.

Various administrative Departments of the Government, such as the Department of Social Affairs, Education and Culture, Defense and Security, Interior Affairs, Manpower, Transmigration and Cooperatives, Agriculture and Public Works, undertake their own social science research programs to meet their needs for planning and policy making. Some of these research programs are contracted to social scientists in the university system or the non-university research institutes.

### C. Financial Provisions

The Government allocates funds for research activities undertaken by social scientists at the universities through the Directorate of Higher Education of its Department of Education and Culture. The funds tend to be very limited and their use too much restricted by cumbersome bureaucratic rules and regulations. It should be admitted, however, that most university instructors who apply for financial support for their research plans lack sufficient experience in research work to enable them to draw up an adequate research budget proposal, a task made even more difficult by unpredictable changes in the cost structure. The funds allocated by the Directorate of Higher Education are used mainly to provide research opportunities to university instructors with the hope that the research experience itself, although not necessarily yielding any significant contribution to the development of knowledge, would improve the quality of instruction of these instructors.

The state universities and institutes of higher education receive 2 types of budgetary resources from the Department of Education and Culture, namely the Routine Budget, mostly for salaries, and the Development Budget. In the 1971/1972 budget year the total Development budget used for development projects of the institutions of higher education amounted to Rp. 2.539.000.000,— From this amount Rp. 1.234.933,— was allocated for library development and Rp. 141.082.000,— for research activities. From the research budget the Bogor Institute of Agriculture received the largest portion, Rp. 17.611.000,— (1969/1970: Rp. 6.000.000,—); Gajah Mada University received Rp. 13.200.000,— (1969/1970: Rp. 6.000.000,—) and the University of Indonesia received Rp. 6.360.000,— (1969/1970: Rp. 4.379.000,—). Research from the Development Budget was raised to Rp. 481.563.000,— for the budget year of 1972/1973.

Various other administrative Departments have their own research budget, ordinarily intended for policy research activities. Since most of these Departments lack the necessary research personnel to undertake some of the much needed research activities, some university instructors, either on behalf of their respective university or on behalf of themselves, are offered to make use of the available funds to undertake specifically requested research projects.

Since economic development has become the principle interest of the Government, economic research projects, especially those with results which promise to be immediately applicable such as feasibility studies, are given priority in research expenditure.

Substantial funds are also made available to support historical research. A gigantic effort is made to produce a standard history of Indonesia which is expected to strengthen the national identity and national consciousness of the Indonesian people.

Foreign funding agencies, such as the Ford Foundation, Asia Foundation, USIS, AID, and UNDP, endeavor to adjust their assistance programs as much as possible to the general policy of the Indonesian Government and its national development plans. Consequently, financial support is given to research projects in economics, demography, education, and administrative science for various obvious reasons. Much less support is given, for the same obvious reasons, to research programs in political science, sociology,



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anthropology, and psychology. Mention should also be made of financial support made by the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and a few other foreign governments.

Very recently, the Government has instituted the Office of the State Minister of Research, entrusted with the responsibility to formulate science policy and to ensure that the Government budget for research activities would yield better results in view of the growing needs of the general national development endeavor.

Outside the university system, the National Institute of Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS) and the National Institute of Cultural Studies (LRKN), both research institutes of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), can be regarded as the beneficiaries of a sizeable research budget allocation from the Government if compared to the very limited amount of funds that are available to university researchers. LEKNAS has also received Ford Foundation support for its development and is currently a recipient of UNDP support for its population studies activities and a recipient of IDRC support for a study on regional development.

A few individual social scientists receive financial support in their individual research work from funding agencies located outside Indonesia, either as recipients of individual grants or as participants of international research projects. It should be noted, however, that these social scientists tend to be limited to those who have studied in the United States.

### D. Social Science Manpower

The number of persons with a *Sarjana* (comparable to M.A.) degree in a social science discipline, such as economics or political science, is quite sizeable but the number of persons who are sufficiently well trained to be able to undertake research activities is very small. The rapid expansion of the higher educational system in Indonesia, based on a desire to offer higher education opportunities for as many people as possible and to produce larger quantities of graduates to supply the much needed manpower for a great variety of development endeavors, has resulted in low quality training which proved to be inadequate for the production of knowledge. The emphasis on factual knowledge or normative

statements has left not much room for training in theory and methodology, two essential ingredients in any research activity.

Fortunately the Government has always been very conscious of this serious inadequacy of the higher educational system in Indonesia and sent quite a number of students or university instructors to foreign countries with better developed universities, such as the Netherlands, the United States, Germany, England, France and Canada, where these Indonesians could receive better instruction and education. The Government also invited foreign Professors to teach in the major universities.

With Ford Foundation assistance, a significant number of Ph.D. and M.A. degree holders in economics have been produced at the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Pittsburgh, and some other universities. Practically all senior instructors at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Indonesia and Gajah Mada University are American trained social scientists. An American radical journal, *Ramparts*, rather unkindly designated these economists as the 'Berkeley Mafia', since at present practically all key national decision-makers in the field of economic development are recruited from this particular group of economists.

The number of law degree holders is the largest number among the various social science discipline degree holders, mostly because the Faculty of Law is the oldest social science faculty in the country. However, since law as taught at the presently numerous Faculties of Law in Indonesia has always tended to be an applied field of knowledge, the number of law degree holders who are capable of undertaking social science research is actually very small. Most of this small category of social science oriented law degree holders are interested in so-called *adat* (customary) law studies of a descriptive nature. In contrast to the economists, none of the Doctor of Law degree holders acquired his degree at a foreign university with the exception of those few who acquired their degree in the Netherlands in the 1920's and one who recently obtained his J.S.D. degree from Yale University; all submitted their doctoral dissertation to universities in Indonesia.

Administrative Sciences has a number of Ph.D., D.P.A., or Dr. degree holders who acquired their degree from foreign universities.



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They are primarily located at the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia, and the Institute of Public Administration, Jakarta.

Education has a number of Ph.D. or Ed.D. degree holders who acquired their degree from American universities and a smaller number of Dr. degree holders who acquired their degree in Indonesia.

All Ph.D. degree holders in Sociology and Political Science are foreign trained (Cornell University; University of California, Berkeley; University of Wisconsin; Harvard University; and Amsterdam University of Amsterdam; University of Leyden) and working in Jakarta.

Anthropology has only two Doctor's degree holders, equally distributed between the University of Indonesia and Gajah Mada University.

History has three Ph.D. degree holders, one who obtained his degree from the University of Amsterdam, one from the University of Paris, Sorbonne, and one from Cornell University.

In Indonesian institutions of higher education the first rank of instructorship after the Second Degree (*Sarjana*) has been obtained is that of Academic Assistant (*Asisten Ahli*), followed by that of Junior Lecturer, Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, and, the highest rank, professor.

The number of full Professors is still very low compared to the number of institutions of higher education or the number of students. In 1969 the total number of Professors in the state universities and institutes of higher education all over Indonesia did not exceed 140 (Law: 13; Letters: 8; Economics: 7; Social Science Teachers Training: 5; Social Science: 4; Education: 4; Arts and Letters Teachers Training: 3). The total number of instructors, including the Professors, was 7,136.

## MAJOR ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

Perhaps at no other time in Indonesia has there been such a great demand for social science knowledge. In fact, people expect

more of the social sciences than they can realistically offer, although it should be admitted that there are social scientists who very mistakenly believe that they are in a position to fulfill these expectations. The increasing demand for social science knowledge in the Indonesian archipelago is to be attributed to the emergence of a host of social problems, large and small, arising from the rapidly changing structure of its society.

There is, first of all, the formation of a new societal community, the Indonesian nation, where until a few decades ago no such a phenomenon existed. At the beginning of our present century the population of the Indonesian archipelago, apart from the newcomers, consisted of a great diversity of ethnic communities which could easily be regarded as old nations. From these various ethnic communities the members of the growing Indonesian nation have been and are still being recruited. The process of the formation of the new nation is still taking place and has, therefore, not yet been completed. Innumerable problems arise from this process, such as problems in inter-ethnic relations and problems of the relationship between the newly emerging Indonesian nation and the various old nations.

There are quite a number of problems arising from an imbalance in population distribution and population growth, having to do with living space, work opportunities, urbanization, and the like.

There are the many problems associated with economic development, problems brought about by the political mobilization of an expanding part of the adult population, problems arising from changes in the existing social stratification structures, whether on the scale of a given ethnic community or on the scale of the Indonesian nation as a whole, and problems generated by the sheer expansion of the communication network.

All these problems — and there are certainly many more that have not been mentioned — have made it imperative to undertake the development of social science research in the various parts of Indonesia. These problems have to be investigated to add to the existing body of knowledge which constitute the main interest of scholars, of students, and, of course, of many other persons. They all anticipate the formation of more and better knowledge of the existing social realities.



The scientific community is, however, not the only sector of the population which is interested in social science knowledge.

The Government, in the form of members of the Cabinet and an array of administrative functionaries, is also interested in the social sciences. President Suharto clearly utilizes social science knowledge by placing quite a number of social scientists in key positions in his Government. University social scientists occupy the following ministerial positions in the present Cabinet: Finance; Mining; Manpower, Transmigration and Cooperatives, Transportation and Communication, National Development Planning, Research, Administrative Reform, Justice, Trade and Religious Affairs. Most of the Professors continue to teach; in fact, the Minister of Finance is still Dean of the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia. Unfortunately, placement of these university affiliated social scientists in key planning and executive positions does facilitate the application of social science knowledge, particularly economics, but does not much help the development of social science knowledge since the scholars involved are now not in a position to engage themselves in research activities or to provide proper training to the coming generation of social scientists. They do, however, stimulate interest in social science knowledge among government functionaries who consequently turn to the social scientists for consultation and assistance in many matters where previously they would have acted on their own.

The demand for social science knowledge also comes from the military in all the constituent services. A substantial dosage of social science knowledge is offered by the National Military Academy as part of the intellectual equipment of its cadets. The various Staff and Command Schools where officers obtain additional training have incorporated social science lectures into their curricula, taught in most cases by university instructors. A team of instructors from the University of Indonesia, for example, had given lectures for a number of years on problems selected by themselves to classes consisting of army colonels and generals at the Army Staff and Command School in Bandung until they were unable to do so because of other pressing assignments.

Politicians also constitute a category of individuals who are much interested in the social sciences. Some of them read social

science literature on their own while others invite the participation of social scientists in discussions where clarification of societal problems are sought.

It should be noted, however, that communication between the social scientists and the interested sectors of the society is not always effective. Sometimes the topics selected for discussion are too specialized, too abstract, and therefore incomprehensible. Sometimes too much jargon is used so that those who want to benefit from the social sciences really do not know what the invited social scientist tries to explain. And sometimes, of course, the social scientist does, indeed, not really know what he himself, the social scientist, is talking about.

On the whole there is much interest for social science knowledge in contemporary Indonesia, even to such an extent that in many cases the political scientist is expected to be knowledgeable about all political problems in the country and to know all the answers to questions pertaining to these problems. The economist, the sociologist, the anthropologist, and other social scientists are frequently placed in the same unenviable position. It stands to reason that such an expectation is far from realistic.

Inevitably the development of the social sciences in Indonesia also produced major problems which are not necessarily recognized as issues. For the sake of brevity some of these problems are just listed at random as follows:

- a. the scarcity of specialists, particularly in the non-economic disciplines, causes the specialists to be overburdened with responsibilities.
- b. the scarcity of specialists causes a given discipline to be too much contained by the theoretical framework of the first few specialists with the exclusion of alternative, if not conflicting, theoretical frameworks.
- c. the scarcity of specialists causes many university social scientists to become involved in planning and administrative work with the Government which puts a strain on their objectivity as academicians: demands of administrative work versus research.



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- d. the influence of ideologies, such as Nationalism, Socialism, Panca Sila ideology, liberalism and religion, on the development of the so-called social sciences is underestimated.
- a. the wide geographical spread of the social scientists with an underdeveloped communication system within the scientific community causes many social scientists to work in isolation.
- f. the relatively short existence of the higher educational system and the use of the Indonesian language as medium of instruction causes the urgent need for textbook writing in the Indonesian language and, consequently, conflict of interest in producing teaching material and contribution to the development of knowledge based on research.
- g. the tradition of survey work and the introduction of computer research causes a neglect of analytical work.
- h. the origin of the present university system causes the existence of artificial administrative divisions which produce graduates who are too narrowly discipline oriented.

Obviously a period of transition is needed to change the present unsatisfactory state of the social sciences in Indonesia to a more productive one. The programs designed for implementation as transitory measures involve so-called upgrading programs at better equipped domestic universities for instructors who have received inadequate academic training for the tasks assigned to them, dissertation writing programs for selected senior lecturers, participation in full Ph.D. programs at foreign universities for promising junior instructors, and the use of foreign professors in teaching and research for both instructors and students, and the establishment of a field station at Darussalam, Aceh, for a one year training program in the social sciences research, hopefully to be followed by the establishment of similar field stations in some other regions of the archipelago.

The higher educational system itself is being changed by instituting so-called "minimal curricula" for each of the disciplines and permitting the faculties and students to develop their own full curricula, thereby reducing the rigidity of university programs and allowing for more flexibility in adopting new programs. The semester and credit system are

also being introduced, a systematic effort is being made to destroy the rigid artificial invisible walls separating the departments within the faculties and separating the faculties within the universities. A number of foreign textbooks, such as Tinbergen's *Development Planning*, Garāner's *Macroeconomic Theory*, Brinton's *The Shaping of the Modern Mind*, Wilman's *Handbook of Clinical Psychology*, Johnson's *Sociology*, Sutherland's *Principles of Criminology* and Bishop's *Introduction to Agricultural Economics Analysis*, are being translated into Indonesian to add to the available academic literature. Original books are also being written and have, of course, been written. These changes are being introduced by the various Consortia already referred to earlier.

The endeavor to strengthen the capacity of the social sciences in Asia to contribute to the development of knowledge relevant to the needs and interests of the aggregates of population living in Asia, their governments and planners, would be much assisted if schemes of cooperation in teaching and research, particularly amongst Asian social scientists themselves can be devised and implemented.

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# TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT\*

Iskandar ALISJAHBANA

## Foreword

Now that the Foreign and Domestic Capital Investment Laws have been in operation for several years many Indonesian thinkers are beginning to note that industrialization, while it does indeed cause the GNP to rise, also appears to widen the gulf between the rich and poor groups in society. It goes without saying that such a gulf gives rise to social tensions which become increasingly difficult to cope with. A few years before this observation found expression in Indonesian publications, doubts had already been frequently expressed internationally over the system of cooperation in the world. It was noted that no matter how much trade was conducted and aid given, the poor nations continued to grow poorer compared to the rich countries which became increasingly prosperous, a situation which directly or indirectly would continue to obstruct the attainment of world peace. There is a very close correlation between these two observations.

One of the participants in this discussion who earned some distinction around 1968 was biologist Paul Ehrlich, a professor at Stanford University, who arrived at the conclusion that the main cause of this widening gulf was population increase<sup>1</sup> particularly that in the developing countries. Such increases directly caused a lowering of the income per capita, a narrowing of the farming area,

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\* The present article is originally a paper presented at Taman Ismail Marzuki (Jakarta Art Centre) on September 19, 1972.

<sup>1</sup> Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, Ballantine Books, Inc., New York (1968).

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pollution of water and the air and accelerated the exhaustion of all kinds of natural resources. Ehrlich stated that it was this uncontrolled population increase that had to be tackled immediately with top priority. From his analysis one can conclude that the key to the problem's solution was considered to be in the hands of the developing countries for it was here that the population was increasing at a very fast rate.

Apart from the above reference to the social aspect of industrialization, Indonesian thinkers have lately often asserted that, of all things, it was this highly capital intensive modern technology that should not have been introduced in Indonesia. Such modern technology, they have pointed out, employs little human labour and enables only those entrepreneurs with strong financial backing to develop further. Such discussions provided the reasoning why such phrases as middle technology, intermediate technology etc. came into being, that is to emphasize the need to activate wider and more equitable economic participation in the form of small enterprises requiring low levels of capital for every field of business opened by the application of middle or intermediate technology.

Thinkers in the industrialized nations have often expressed doubts about technological progress in their own countries. They argue that, man, in his struggle against poverty and his pursuit of the smallest possible number of work hours, has virtually achieved his goals and overcome all his struggles thanks to the progress of modern technology. However, this is only sham progress they contend as all the very progress that has given man his powers has also caused him to suffer from new weaknesses. Every achievement in harnessing nature eventually brings man under the control of that achievement.

A case in point is the discovery and control of atomic power. This achievement has opened new possibilities for man's welfare but at the same time it has also presented new possibilities for his own destruction. The automobile as a highly efficient means of transport has opened many new possibilities for man but lately this invention has shown its weaknesses as the problem of air pollution attests.



A particularly articulate critic of the sham progress resultant from technological improvements is Barry Commoner<sup>1</sup>. He arrived at the very bold conclusion that the root trouble lay in the profit motive on which the free enterprise system is based. As long as this profit motive is the stick which prods man to work or create, any technological achievements will lead only to sham progress. Thus the present modern technology is the wrong kind of technology and the cause of all the wasteful conditions in the world. This same erroneous technology had also caused the widening gulf between the rich and the poor. It is therefore this problem of technology that must be tackled with top priority and not the problem of population increase. This goal can be successfully achieved only when the free enterprise system was changed. Commoner's analysis implies that the problem has to be handled primarily in the industrialized countries rather than in the developing ones, because according to this view it is in the industrialized countries that the massive wasting of natural resources was taking place as a consequence of "efficient" but "erroneous" technology.

The findings of thinkers from the industrialized countries who call themselves The Club of Rome<sup>2</sup>, are in this writer's opinion, more successful in viewing these world phenomena as a whole. This is mainly due to the fact that all the thinking and analyzing of this group was conducted by people with diverse fields of expertise. According to their report which was published in the form of a book entitled *The Limits to Growth*, both factors i.e. *population increase* and *technological progress* (which aims exclusively at increasing productive capacity) will cause the world to face disaster within the next one hundred years. Of prime importance was the awareness that this planet earth's capacity to accommodate human beings and to satisfy man's desires for worldly goods is quite limited.

What about our own position and thinking as a developing nation which is simultaneously facing many problems, the solutions for which are often sought through mutually contradicting measures? For instance, the problem of non-indigenous entre-

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle*. The writer is the Director of Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, Washington University.

<sup>2</sup> Dennis L. Meadows, *The Limits to Growth*, a report for the Club of Rome Project on the Predicament of Mankind, Universe Books, New York (1972).

preneurs who continue to develop in contrast to the indigenous entrepreneurs who are relatively slow in developing; the widening gulf between national entrepreneurs and foreign enterprise; the gulf between the rich and poor Indonesian people; Indonesia's GNP and national income per capita which is very low and slow in growing compared to those of the peoples of the industrialized countries; the shortage of capital which we attempt to overcome through the use of foreign capital and the concomitant problems arising from the modern technology accompanying foreign capital; etcetera.

Before we focus our attention on Indonesia's problems in particular let us first make a further examination of the views of the afore mentioned foreign thinkers in a world-wide scope. Only after such an examination are we likely to approach the specific problem of Indonesia in a more credible way for it is in their relationship with world-wide problems that those of Indonesia can be more easily understood..

### A few basic ideas on the world today

In his book *The Closing Circle* Barry Commoner notes that the more advanced the technology we apply, the more efficiently it will destroy the natural ecology. The main objective of the replacement of old technology with modern technology is the raising of productivity and the resultant larger profits for the enterprises concerned. The achievement of ever increasing profits is the principal aim of the free enterprise system.

The following examples were given of new technologies which have been introduced since the Second World War and which have led to larger profits:

- Before soap was replaced by detergents the profits made by soap manufacturers was 30 percent of their sales. After the substitution their profits rose to 50 percent.



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- Chemical industries also recorded an increase from 13 to 15 percent in their profits mainly as a result of their switch to the production of synthetics.
- Iron (steel) and wood have to a large extent been replaced by aluminium and cement as construction materials. Iron and wood industries record profits of 13 and 15 percent respectively. Aluminium and cement factories can make profits of up to 26 and 37 percent respectively.
- In transport technology the switch from train to truck and passenger car was also effected because of the desire for bigger profits.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the above examples is that sophisticated technology, while bringing greater profits, is also more efficiently destroying the natural conditions of the environment. What makes the problem more difficult is that the destruction of the natural conditions of the environment does not become apparent immediately but only after the investment in the form of new machines for production has been made. By the time the damage to the environment is making itself felt, so much capital has been committed to the investment that it is not easy to withdraw. Supposing the loss caused by the damage to the environment could be calculated, it would prove to be far from certain whether with the increased profits gained by the companies concerned people could repair that damage. It can therefore be argued that these profits are sham profits. Such profits are certainly real enough to the respective companies, however, they have actually been taken from the natural resources<sup>1</sup> of the community and it is the community that is made to lose.

A further conclusion that can be drawn is that there will be a need for new technological inventions e.g. technological systems to recycle garbage and other waste materials into earth; substitution of natural goods for synthetics; technologies to revert or at least to stop the process by which farm land is increasingly put to non-agricultural use; to stop the utilization of artificial fertilizer in efforts to raise agricultural production; to slow down

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<sup>1</sup> Natural resources here refers to the fertility of the soil, the oxygen content of the air, water etc. or natural assets that are also called biological capital.

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the growth of industries that consume energy in excessive quantities; means of transport using a minimum of low temperature oil and requiring a minimum of land space; technologies for the repetitive use of such materials as metal, glass, paper etc.

However, Barry Commoner states further, these technologies cannot possibly be invented as long as the free market system (free enterprise system) which is based on the pursuit of maximum profits remains unchanged. As long as this system prevails man will continue to invent only technologies that damage the natural conditions of the environment because it is these technologies that bring the biggest profits.

The Club of Rome attempted to create a dynamic mathematical model of the world. This model was designed with particular reference to five factors i.e.: *population increase, industrialization, food supply, the limited quantity of (irreplacable) natural resources and pollution of natural conditions.*

This work method is quite efficient for the making of prognoses. With such models it is possible, for instance, to estimate what is going to happen to this world in the next few centuries if the five aforementioned factors develop in the way they did, say, a few years ago. Or further, what is going to happen within several hundred years from now if, for instance, population does not increase while the four other factors develop as they did several decades ago. Through this method the shape of things to come can be known without having to wait hundreds of years.

From the above review the following brief conclusions can be drawn:

- If world population growth, industrialization, pollution, food production, utilization and discovery of natural resources continue at their present rates, the limits of growth on this planet earth will be reached in approximately the next 100 years. There is great probability that a relatively fast and uncontrolled decline will occur in world population and industrial capacity and this would be a kind of calamity.
- If, for instance, the world succeeds in checking its population growth in 1975 (so that the birth rate equals the death rate) whereas industrial output continues to grow by exponents, this



calamity will also occur before the year 2001 mainly because of the exhaustion of the natural resources and pollution.

- The same will happen to a world that succeeds in checking its population growth and stopping the capital growth of its industrial system (a situation where new capital investments equal depreciations). In this case too there will be a decline in industrial production which will disrupt stability before the year 2001 as a consequence mainly of the exhaustion of natural resources.
- The world can attain a balance that lasts far beyond 2001 if, apart from stopping population and capital growth, it also resorts to technologies which consume natural resources in a more economical way. The world's industrial output per capita in such a state of balance would be three times the average figure for 1970.
- The sooner all the nations in the world become aware of and are prepared to make an effort to attain this state of balance, the greater the likelihood will be that this objective can be achieved.

In the next chapter an attempt will be made to analyze these phenomena in Indonesia and other developing countries and their correlations with the world phenomena.

### The wheel of development and its links

The process of development consists of a series of happenings involving various elements that are connected to each other like the links of a chain. If one of the elements involved fails to function as a link because it is either too weak or has not sufficiently developed, the whole process will not take place as planned. The chain will break if the weakest among its links breaks. The primary elements involved in every process of development that have to be taken into account are:

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- human resources
- educational resources, research and information
- technological processes and systems
- institutional resources
- natural resources
- cultural resources
- capital resources

How these elements are linked to each other to form a closed chain of development is shown in diagram 1.

The size of human resources is not determined only by the available number of people but also by their quality. Institutional resources refers to the effectiveness of the established organizations and institutions through which individuals can work, develop and put their inspirations into practice. Educational resources and research and information consist of the knowledge and experiences collected by man at home and abroad which are closely connected with educational and research bodies. The weaknesses and strengths of the entire cultural pattern of a nation are what is meant by cultural resources which must be known in order to be applied or changed for the sake of development as a whole.

As shown in diagram 1 individuals in a nation can possess and utilize information resources and technology through the organizational structure of their government and various kinds of natural resources, to increase facilities and power resources within the limits of and in line with their capital resources and cultural background, in order further to produce new goods, services and information for the sake of the original human resources as a whole. This process takes place in an ever recurring cycle.

This process may be observed to have its course on a provincial, national, international or global level. The process (on provincial level) in West Java is linked to the process (on provincial level) in Central Java in the same way as the process (on national level) in Japan is linked to and very much influences the process (on national level) in Indonesia. These links may constitute or be perceived as either cooperation or competition depending on the direction given to the processes and on the understanding the human beings involved have of these processes.

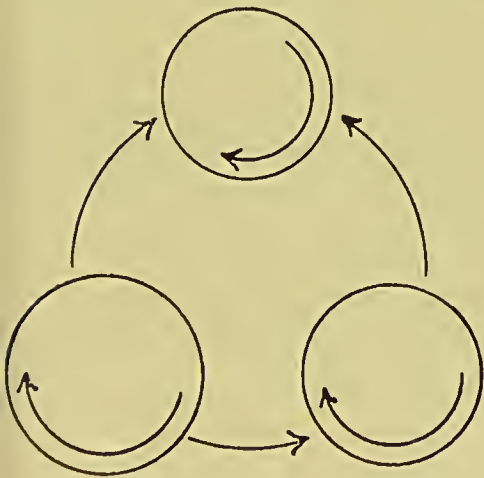


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The process of development of an isolated island community will invariably be a closed one with all the composite elements including the natural environment constituting one harmonious whole. When this harmonious but closed process continues for centuries the community involved will gradually develop an identity which is called their native *cultural pattern*. It will eventually also develop a strength which is often called *national resilience* when the community in question is a nation.

As long as *overpopulation* or *excessive use of natural resources* does not occur, the process of development will remain securely closed and the development cycle proceed harmoniously. In such a case the technology used can be said to be well adjusted to the other links of the chain of development factors.

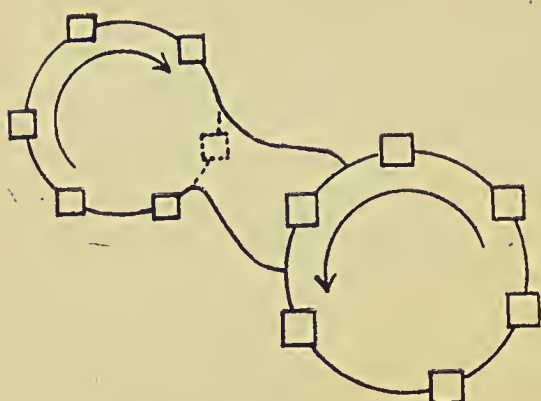
Let us now examine the various links existing between these factors and how they influence each other.



One example of such a link is provided by the foreign artists who come to Bali to live there. They constitute inputs and information to the Balinese artists without disturbing the cycle of development or the way of life of the Balinese people. This is a good example of how the quality (or efficiency) of a development process can be improved and enriched without destroying the

the indigenous cultural pattern. New inputs in the form of technology and knowledge from other countries can certainly enrich our process of development as long as they do not disturb the cycle of that process.

Because of the progress made in the world's communication and trade technologies the process of development (life) in one island is apt to become linked to or be influenced by the process of development in another island (or continent) possessing a more advanced civilization and technology. This link or influence may be so strong that it weakens one or some of the links in the chain of the process of development in the former. This may happen to



such an extent that the process of development in the former is eventually no longer covered by its own indigenous resources but entirely by the links in the chain of the development process in the other island or continent. Such a situation may be either beneficial or harmful, depending on the way one looks at it.

An example of a harmful situation in this writer's view is to be observed in the links between the processes of life in Hawaii and the American continent. Almost all the food, consumer and producer needs of Hawaii have to be supplied from the American mainland. The cycle of the economic development of the American continent is so strong that it has caused virtually all the links in the chain of Hawaii's process of development to be dissected and reformed as auxiliary parts of the process of development in the American continent. The identity of the Hawaiian cultural pattern is fading out.

From the US standpoint of nation-building this situation is beneficial. Viewed from a purely economic standpoint it has indeed made the process of development in the US much more productive and stronger because such a situation is more consistent with an efficient division of work.

The giant machines and vast farm lands on the American continent easily provide all of Hawaii's needs. The lands of Hawaii can thus be used exclusively to build hotels and its population geared to tourism, in other words directed towards exploitation of the island's cultural resources. Job opportunities are quite evenly spread and are fairly guaranteed.

However, on the other hand, cultural resources that are so valuable for tourism, can continue to flourish only when the chain of development which produced them continues to exist. A state of self-reliance of certain proportions is necessary to sustain identity and this is crucial for the further development of tourism. The links with, and the influence of the wheels of (economic) development on the American continent are so strong that the role being played



by the Hawaiian people as human beings has become smaller and smaller. This has happened ever since the Hawaiian kingdom had its power reduced to become a state of the United States. According to many experts Hawaiian culture now has ceased to be a living culture.

In Hawaii we see an example of the application of technology which resulted in a sufficient rate of economic growth and the creation of adequate job opportunities but which, however, also brought with it many weaknesses.

Among such weaknesses were the loss of the cultural identity of the Hawaiian community, the vulnerability of the entire economy of the Hawaiian island to any workers' strike on the American west coast, and the fact that there now remains virtually no indigenous Hawaiian entrepreneurs.

Japan which has extremely limited natural resources, supplies its process of development with natural resources from other countries. This supply is arranged in such a way that her process of development never becomes dependent on any force that is outside her control (diversification). Dependence on many forces (which are outside Japan's control) each of which are free in their movements, is a relatively stable dependence.

The protectionist measures taken on behalf of, and the subsidies given to the farmers in the industrialized countries are the result of the desire of these nations to maintain the stability of their processes of development. They want to retain a self-reliance of certain proportions for the sake of identity and national resilience.

A division of work covering the whole world so that production is divided in accordance with the particular talents of and the prevailing conditions in the different nations and states of the world would be in the best interest of the process of development in the world as a whole. From a purely economic viewpoint this would indeed be the most efficient arrangement. However, from the viewpoint of the desire of every nation or group of nations to maintain identity and to be as little dependent on others as possible, such an arrangement is only a dream.

The present symptoms of inappropriate technology being applied in Indonesia can also be viewed as being an imbalance in the links,

between the process of development in Indonesia and the processes of development in the industrialized countries. A few links in the chain of the Indonesian process have been destroyed and broken by the utilization of resources of information, capital, equipment and production facilities which did not originate in Indonesia's own process of development. These foreign elements are too large in number compared to the existing ability of the country to make the necessary adjustments or to preserve balance vis-à-vis the Indonesian elements.

The presence of efficiency-oriented, giant, international enterprises, and sophisticated world communication system has directly or indirectly caused the consumption standards of the Indonesian elite to soar far beyond those of the nation as a whole. Social tensions between the rich and poor groups of the population increase and an atmosphere of austerity and savings mindedness, so important for further development, has become difficult to maintain. If we fail to effect meaningful changes, Indonesia is really going to be a country capable only of consuming the products yielded by the economic processes of other nations, incapable of producing anything by her own productive effort. Such a situation, if allowed to continue, will ultimately weaken the identity of Indonesia's cultural patterns and her national resilience.

### Some important elements in the chain of development

After our discussion of the chain of development as a whole and following the examination of a few examples of the interaction between different chains of development, let us now focus our attention on each of the elements or links in the process of development itself.

### Human resources, Capital Resources and Technology

In the industrialized countries technological progress is perceived as the main moving force of economic growth. Substitution of capital (machines) for human labour has become the key to increased productivity and improved standards of living. Are these principles also valid for the developing countries ?



In this author's view these principles in general are indeed valid for the developing countries on the stressed condition that *most of the technology should emerge from the process of development of the country*. In other words this means that the technology in question must be developed in the same surroundings as it will be utilized. In this way all aspects of the local environment are properly taken account of in the process of development.

The efficiency of a production process is not determined only by the output per worker but, more correctly, by the output compared to the price unit of the input. The unit price of input depends on labour and capital. It can be readily understood that in an environment where capital can be easily obtained at an interest rate of 4 percent a year and the average wage level is \$ 2.— an hour, one will produce a different machine than in an environment where interest on capital is 15 — 20 percent and the average wage level is \$ 0,10,— an hour. It is obvious that the machines or industrial processes in an environment where capital is expensive and wages relatively low, will lead to a decision to use relatively, more human resources than capital resources, the quality and the price of the output being the same. In the case of a few branches of industry (wood, metal) this statement can be easily proven i.e. by alternately using different machines that are available in the market.

A further issue which is, however, hard to prove concerns optimal production techniques in those branches of industry for which various types of technology (machines) with different levels of capital intensity are not available in the world market. Such is the case in the petrochemical industry. This situation is perhaps due to the fact that no attempt has ever been made to mobilize sufficient capital and effort to invent alternatives, however, it is possible that no such alternatives will be found within the next 10 years no matter what is done. An example worth mentioning in this context is the fact that a few years ago there was no production technology capable of producing cement at internationally competitive prices with a capital investment of less than US\$ 1 million, however, the World Bank recently provided information that now enables one to construct a cement factory for less than 1 million dollars and produce cement at competitive prices !

The problem of capital-labor substitution is still a wide open field for research, i.e. research on hardware by engineers and research to produce analysis for economists. These two areas of research should be conducted in coordination with each other.

An effort to answer the question whether or not capital-labor substitution is possible in the future, is the analysis being made of data on the various levels of capital intensity in the same branches of industry existing in the industrialized countries.

If the ratio of  $\frac{\text{the highest capital intensity}}{\text{the lowest capital intensity}}$  is large enough it is an indication that the range of technology which can be practically applied is sufficiently flexible to indicate that the substitution of labour for capital can be readily achieved and has a good chance of succeeding. The results of this analysis are a mainstay for those industries where hardware research and development must be done to find a technology that is more suited to the prevailing conditions of the capital and human resources in developing countries.

The economic scarcity of capital resources compared to those of human resources is often distorted by, government incentives or regulations, interest rates for investment capital that are lower than for working capital, tax holidays for capital investments, duty exemptions for imported productive machinery or capital goods, the possibility of accelerated depreciation, tied aid which compels aid recipients to buy from their donors, international technical standards inappropriately applied etc. All of these factors force entrepreneurs to make more use of capital intensive technology.

Two conclusions can be drawn at this stage. One is that the question of whether or not intermediate technology or suitable technology is available for Indonesia should not be made dependent on the question of whether that technology is available in the world or foreign market. It is the Indonesian thinkers and Indonesian research institutions as one of the elements in the chain of Indonesia's process of development, that should decide this question. The second conclusion is that the intermediate technology in question will be able to hold its own, and develop, if the arrangement of the elements in the chain of development (capital, man, institutions etc.) can be regulated by the Indonesian government and potentials on the basis of sufficient and comprehensive understanding.



### Human Resources, Cultural Resources and Entrepreneurship

Joseph E. Stepanek, a planning expert of international reputation who is now a distinguished UNIDO figure because of his experiences in various countries, once stated in a lecture:

"..... wasted much time while learning that no amount of capital equipment, no number of enthusiastic government planners, and no team of foreign consultants can compensate for lack of individuals eager and able to seize the opportunity to develop."

Individuals who are able to see possibilities and seize opportunities to develop are classified by David C. McClelland as entrepreneurs i.e. individuals who possess the following qualities:

- their mind is constantly filled with thoughts about how they can improve on their performance, to raise it above the standard of excellence they had originally set out to achieve or to surpass the standard they achieved in the past;
- they desire to win in competition, succeed in their efforts because success in overcoming challenges and difficulties gives them the greatest satisfaction: it is not financial gain that gives them the greatest satisfaction.

McClelland further classifies man according to three basic needs: the need of achievement, the need of affiliation and the need of power. An entrepreneur is someone in whom the need of achievement is stronger than the other needs. Someone who values association and friendship above everything else is a person with a strong need of affiliation. The need of power is the dominant quality in political figures.

According to McClelland's hypothesis, which he propounded in his book *The Achieving Society*<sup>1</sup>, the nations that possess relatively many entrepreneurs also have the better chances of developing their economies.

Tests on the need of achievement conducted on indigenous Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese and white children in Hawaii resulted in scores that were proportionate to the economic roles being played

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<sup>1</sup> D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc. Princeton, New Jersey (1961).

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by the respective population groups. The scores showed the white children to have the biggest need of achievement followed by the Chinese and the Japanese children with the Hawaiian children recording the lowest scores. On the other hand the Hawaiian children were on top of the list when the test related to the need for affiliation.

Directly or indirectly the burning and destruction committed by Negroes in the big cities of the USA, has compelled the US government to make a careful reappraisal of the actual causes of the failure of the Negro minority group to participate in the economy. This was mainly what prompted Prof. McClelland to conduct research and experiments in the USA, India and several other countries to find out whether it is possible to educate people into possessing a greater need of achievement so that they become more capable of participating economically. The answer which McClelland found was positive: "Entrepreneurs can be developed". One of his most important reports was published in the book *Motivating Economic Achievement*<sup>1</sup>.

A crucial problem we in Indonesia are facing now involves our indigenous entrepreneurs who have yet to succeed in participating in the economy in the way they should. This problem has certain aspects which are similar to those of the Negroes in the USA. One difference which makes the problem in Indonesia a more difficult one is that in this country it involves not just a minority but the majority of the population.

The awareness is gaining ground that whatever technology is used, no matter how evenly jobs are distributed or how much the GNP is raised, there will be no social nor political stability if the economic wheel is not for the greatest part in indigenous hands on a wide scale and in a way that *all layers of the community participate*. Excessive dependence on imports and foreign economies does not serve to enhance the identity of the national cultural pattern and national endurance. *Dynamic self-reliance in reasonable proportions is imperative.*

If harmony is to prevail in a community there is a need for a mixture of people with different qualities i.e. people in whom the need of achievement is prominent, people with a strong need of affiliation as well as those with an outspoken need of power. If

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<sup>1</sup> McClelland and D.G. Winter, The Free Press (1969):



Indonesians have anything in common with the Hawaiians then it is the fact that with both peoples the need of affiliation is much stronger than the need of achievement as exemplified by the sedateness and spirit of mutual help that pervade life in their villages.

*Considering the geographic openness of Indonesia it will be impossible or very difficult for her to pursue a policy of isolation.* Influences from neighbouring countries in the form of business pressure which will affect or destroy her national way of life (chain of development). Such influences will filter in through many channels. To maintain the integrity of the nation's chain of development Indonesia needs more entrepreneurs who can act as a counter-balance to the external forces that seek to seize the economic opportunities in this country to their own excessive benefit.

Tinbergen<sup>1</sup> suggests that the rate of economic growth of the developed countries be reduced so as to give the developing countries a chance to increase theirs. This suggestion can also be construed as meaning that what the developing countries require is some reorientation to place a premium on the development of the need of achievement among their peoples. Conversely, the need of achievement among the peoples of the developed countries should be toned down to a certain extent so as to enable a reduction of their economic growth rates.

In this context we can see that the United Nations Second Development Decade plans are beginning to show their relevance towards the suggestions of The Club of Rome concerning the need to reduce the economic growth rates of the industrialized countries.

### Conclusions and recommendations

- 1). Substitution of capital (machines and technology in general) for human labour is the keystone of increased productivity. This also applies to Indonesia with the condition which must

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<sup>1</sup> See "International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade".

- be made explicit (because it is often forgotten) that most of this process of substitution must originate in the chain of development in Indonesia itself. If this condition is fulfilled the possibility of the occurrence of unemployment or other disturbances to stability will be at a minimum or easily coped with. With the participation of all the links of the chain of development a state of self-reliance will come into being, such a state being in *certain proportions, absolutely needed* to maintain the identity of both the cultural pattern and national endurance.
- 2). Only when development has reached a stage approaching that of an industrialized country — although whether such a stage can really be reached is still a big question — will some adjustments be necessary in regulations and guidance. In figurative language: "Indonesia's problem at present is that of setting up and putting into motion a wheel (chain) of development in which all links of the chain participate. The next problem is in which direction this wheeled cart is to take us. The general direction we have already planned but how hard it is to learn to steer this wheeled cart even before its wheels have been fitted and put into motion".
- 3). Realization of the possibility of inventing and utilizing middle or intermediate technology does not depend on Indonesia alone but also on the peoples of the industrialized countries of the world. If the industrialized nations are willing to reduce their rate of economic growth a little and succeed in doing so, there will be a greater chance for Indonesia to use intermediate technology (with the desired results). The result desired from the utilization of such technology is a more even spread of economic participation among the various groups of individuals and among the rural and urban areas. The gulf between poor and rich nations in this world and the gulf between the poor and rich people in a country are very closely correlated.
- 3a). The question of whether or not intermediate technology or a technology suitable for Indonesia is available should not be made dependent on the question of whether or not such a technology is available in the world or foreign markets. This question should be decided by Indonesia's own thinkers and



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research institutes as one of the elements in the chain of this country's development. Secondly, such intermediate technology can hold its own and develop if the arrangement of the elements in the chain of development (capital, the human factor, institutions etc.) can be regulated by the Indonesian government and potentials in an adequate and comprehensive way.

- 4). The awareness of the need for a reduction in the rate of economic growth of the industrialized countries and the success of efforts to that end are very much dependent on whether or not the pattern of values held by the peoples of the industrialized countries can be successfully changed. Those values which are conducive to the cultivation of a sense of world solidarity which in this writer's view are related to what McClelland called the need of affiliation, should be developed with top priority in the industrialized countries. On the other hand, in Indonesia and the other developing countries, the nurturing of the need of achievement should be given top priority.
- 5). An observation of the economic war that erupted between America on the one hand and Japan and Europe on the other in the past year has clearly shown that the awareness of the need to reduce the economic growth rate of the industrialized countries will not arise by itself, without various kinds of arrangements and even struggle. This awareness and the measures in that direction must in the first place arise with and be taken by the industrialized countries in a synchronized manner so that no unequal competition occurs among them. Secondly, the companies and peoples of the industrialized countries who are used to seeing their profits and living standards increase each year will not voluntarily give up these benefits merely to enable the companies and peoples of the developing countries to catch up on their backwardness. A manifestation of this reluctance is clearly to be perceived in the business pressure of the foreign companies in their efforts to penetrate the Indonesian market and in the grossly unequal arrangements being made under joint ventures.

- 6). Given the issues stated above we have to realize fully that though we have to cooperate with other countries to achieve balance in this world, we are also in competition with the industrialized countries. It is an unequal struggle, similar to a fight between an ant and an elephant, but just as in the children's tale the elephant may well be deprived of victory if the ant knows the elephant's weaknesses. For this purpose Indonesia needs research institutes and think-tanks which will devise the strategy for the struggle. To devise such a strategy we must know the weaknesses and strengths of Indonesia and also those of the other parties. In this writer's view one aspect that has received little attention from Indonesian research institutes are *those weaknesses of the industrialized countries caused by pollution and which therefore can strengthen Indonesia's position in her competition with them*. Pollution should not be considered only as a bogey. It should also be seen as a divine blessing for those countries that are very weak in competition. This matter deserves creative and systematic thinking and research utilizing Indonesia's own potentials.
- 7). Without waiting for the industrialized countries' preparedness to take the initiative to nurture the need of affiliation among their peoples, Indonesia should as soon as possible begin to make efforts to nurture the need of achievement in its people, provide entrepreneurship-owner training in every region (to be extended further to the villages), followed by the granting of supervisory credits to selected and successful trainees and establishment of new small-scale enterprises. Stress should be laid on the *selection process, education to foster an economic mentality* which have to be followed up with the granting of economic facilities as an additional factor. Further arrangements for the strengthening of the competitiveness of the established enterprises should be made.
- 8). Admittedly there are many economists who cannot accept the idea that there should be a situation of zero growth in the future as called for in the report of The Club of Rome. However, this writer has perceived that there is quite a wide consensus about the need to reduce waste (in the widest possible sense of the word) which will be reflected in a



reduction of the rate of economic growth of the world as a whole. This does not mean that the status quo between the poor countries and the rich countries should be maintained. The achievement of social justice globally depends on the awareness of the industrialized countries and also on the intelligence and seriousness with which we devise and implement a strategy of struggle to change that status quo.

- 9). The Indonesian government under President Sukarno formerly gave priority to the nurturing of the Indonesian nation's mentality as a country that was second to none, able to stand on its own feet and with sufficient self-confidence, to make it truly a nation with strength. This writer is inclined to view those efforts as being closely related to the need of power. The government under President Soeharto feels that the Indonesian people have had sufficient mental and cultural nurturing and that what it needs now is a fertile and sound economic climate. According to an Indonesian proverb; "Wherever there is sugar there will be ants". Similarly wherever there is a favourable economic climate and atmosphere entrepreneurs and enterprises will emerge. This is indeed what has happened but meanwhile a situation has also emerged in which indigenous and non-indigenous entrepreneurs are participating in unfavourable proportions to each other.

In this writer's view not only do we need to create an even better economic climate and atmosphere, we also need efforts to nurture a mentality of self-confidence which is more directed towards development of the need of achievement.

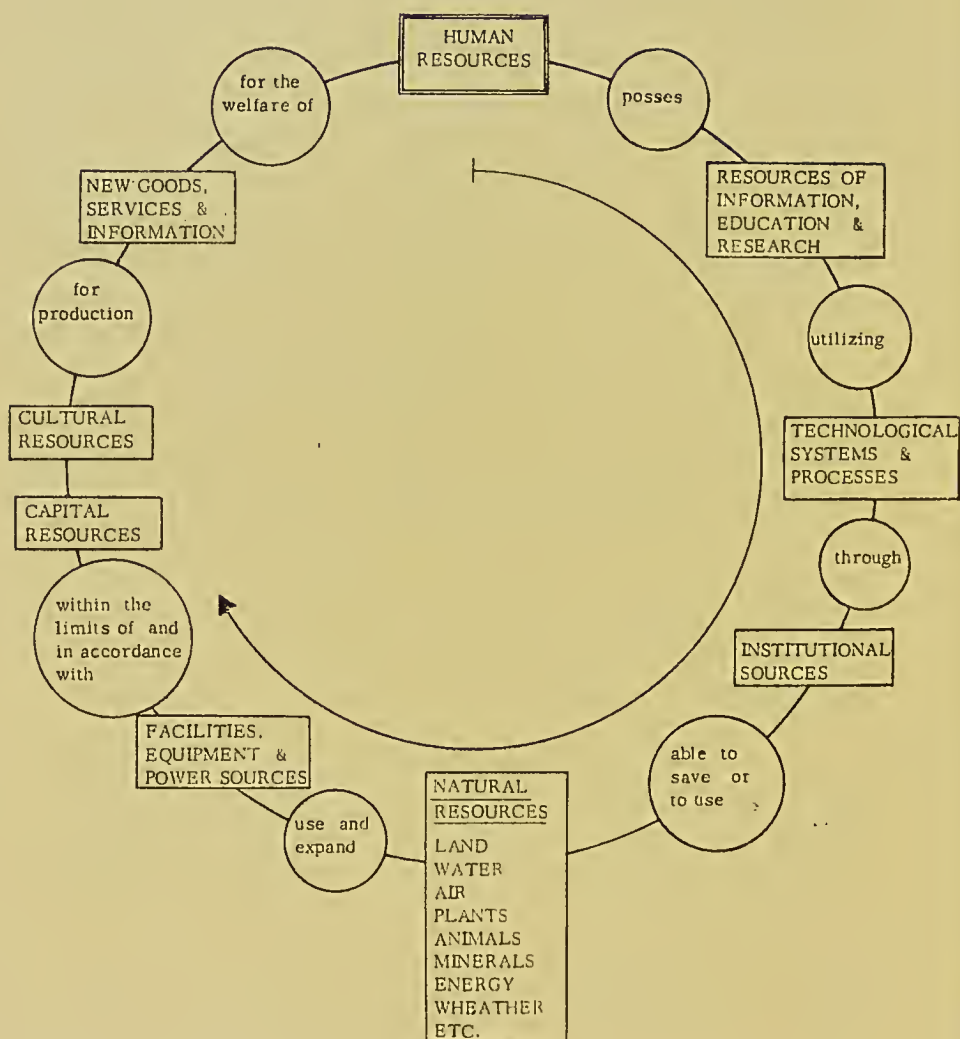


Diagram 1 : THE CHAIN OF DEVELOPMENT which depicts the links among resources, factors and actions that result in an ever recurring cycle.



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# TOURISM SITE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES\*

Selo SOEMARDJAN

To the extent that the national economic development of a country is conceived in a predetermined plan it is imperative that the development of any tourism site in that country should be undertaken as an integral part of that national development plan. Where tourism is in an early stage of growth it would be most advantageous that within the context of the national development plan special tourism development policy and plan could be devised which gives directives and guidance to all government agencies concerned, investors, tour operators, travel bureaus, hotel chains and everybody else interested as to what they are allowed and not allowed to do and what they can expect in the field of tourism development. The policy should clearly indicate the priority position of tourism development as compared to development in other areas, also its preference between international and domestic tourism, while incentives for and responsibilities of foreign and domestic investors deserve to be spelled out in an inambiguous manner.

In a country like Indonesia where each province is encouraged to have its particular development plan to supplement the national development plan it goes without saying that the development of a tourism site should be made consistent with the particular plan of the province where the site is located.

In view of the great variety in the nature and size of tourism sites in the countries around the Pacific it is well to recognize the realities and potentialities for support to the projected tourist

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\* This article was originally a paper presented at the PATA Pacific Tourism Site Development Seminar held in Jakarta on April 2-3, 1974



industry which can be expected to generate from the natural and social environment of the selected site. In this respect there is a substantial difference whether the site is located in an area with an advanced degree of sophisticated economy, or whether the site surroundings are still in a traditional agricultural setting. In the former case the projected tourist industry will be able to lean heavily on its surroundings for operational purposes, whereas the latter requires expensive imports of material for building and running the tourism business until such time that supporting facilities can be created and put to work in the vicinity of the site.

To be successful tourism site development in an economically and technologically less developed area therefore needs the integrated activities of the national government, the private investors and entrepreneurs, and the local people. With one of the three action partners inactive there is only a small chance of success for a tourism industry to develop. The national government should take the responsibility of building the infrastructure, physical, legislative as well as administrative. The private investor or entrepreneur takes care of initiating and running the industry, while the local population should supply — most probably after effective external aid — trained manpower, foodstuffs, and auxiliary facilities to complete the tourism industry package.

In the initial one or two years of the upcoming tourism development on the selected site it would be most beneficial to every party concerned if the national government could actively help, in cooperation with the private tourism enterprises on the site, in the systematic and intensive promotion of the new site both abroad and at home to assist the tourism industry to emerge from its terra incognita.

It is an established fact in the tourism business that a large part of its success depends upon systematic and effective promotion, and without that no rapid development can be expected from a newly opened, and therefore still not widely known, tourism site.

Once the industry is under way it can be left to take care of promotion by its own.

After preliminary surveys and feasibility studies on a specific tourism site development have shown favorable findings it is only sound to realize the principal objectives of that development itself. Having only limited knowledge and experience in this field I

venture to say that there are three main objectives to be kept in mind; which are to make the site (1) attractive to tourists, (2) attractive to investors, and (3) blend into its physical and cultural environment.

To make the site attractive to tourists both the national government and the investor should have a firm idea of the kind of tourists the site is designed for. In the first place there is the distinction between international and domestic tourists. In countries with a widely spread high income per capita there would be no observable differences in the spending capacity and habits between foreign and indigenous tourists, and for that reason the same tourist facilities can be built and made available for all of them. But in a less developed country where earnings per head of population are generally much lower than that in the tourist generating countries it would be economically and culturally unwise to ignore the discrepancy in habits, preferences, and spending potentials between international and domestic visitors. Without committing any publicly enforceable racial, religious, or national discrimination among the various types of tourists it is advisable from the economic and managerial viewpoint to have different sites developed for international and domestic tourism in a less developed land. The tourist, whether international or domestic, is of course entirely free to choose where to go and which site to take only after due consultation of his pocket book.

With regard to attraction preferences of international visitors as compared to Indonesian tourists it seems that those coming from cold climates rate sunny beaches very high on their itinerary, whereas Indonesians who live day by day in a tropical climate generally don't feel too strongly attracted to the usually hot seaside places.

Aside from the differences between international and domestic tourism there are the well known differences in objectives and preferences between tourists who travel for business, pleasure, cultural purposes, or just to visit a friend, family or places where they can indulge in the sentimental memories of their happy youthful days. And then there is that modern phenomenon in affluent societies where every family feel compelling social pressures to do some travelling each year, preferably to a foreign land, just for the sake of social prestige. To this last middle class tourist



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category the most important objective of travelling is the after-vacation parties and gatherings at home where they can tell the story of their travel with or without coloured slides and movies.

Irrespective of the differences in travel objectives there is a common factor which tourists of all nationalities and cultures gladly accept, recreational facilities. Recreation is a tourism element of universal value, whether it is of an active type in which the young can actively participate or of a passive nature which the older generation can enjoy by leisurely watching in groups or in splendid solitary. Recreation is therefore an indispensable part in every tourist site development.

How to make a tourist site attractive for investors depends upon the availability of natural, cultural and man made tourist attractions on the site or in its surroundings. Where natural and cultural elements, unique to the area, are present, the investor can exploit them for his benefit and that of the tourist with relatively little cost. But if man made works like sport stadiums, theater buildings or artificial lakes have to be created for the purposes of tourist site development, investors may have to make lengthy capital calculations and undertake intensive feasibility studies before they make any decision for investments. Such works may not be profitable in itself as a micro enterprise, but they may generate considerate earnings and revenues in a macro context. If that is the case the government, with or without cooperation from private enterprise is called for to finance the project from public funds.

Where physical infrastructural works like roads, bridges, power and water supply, and telecommunication facilities are inadequate it is again the government which has to bear the burden of building them and making them available to the tourist industry at reasonable prices. If economically justifiable hotels and restaurants may decide to provide their own power and water supply, but telecommunication facilities are in most of the less developed countries a government responsibility.

In addition to favorable investment, immigration, and building laws and a well conceived tourism development policy as referred to earlier in this presentation it would be extremely helpful for investors for the development of any site if reliable statistical figures relevant to tourism could be made available either by

public or private agencies in the country. With correct statistical analysis the investor would be able to make a business projection of the tourism development and in that way avoid the risk of getting caught in wrong investments like building new hotels in a site with over supply of accommodation.

The last objective in planning tourism site development relates to the problem of how to blend the site with its natural and cultural environment. There is a tendency that if tourism site developers are left on their own they will make their decisions mainly on the basis of economic feasibility and efficiency. Especially if they belong to an international chain of hotels, restaurants, or other tourist institutions it is most likely that they will follow the pattern of building their superstructure in the image of other superstructures which have proven their architectural beauty, low economic cost and effective usefulness in other parts of the world. Personal experience in the application of certain technologies may induce the architects and engineers to repeat work they have done successfully elsewhere. The result of their work, beautiful as it may appear in another natural context, may become incongruous in the different natural environment of the new site. A high rise hotel building may fit perfectly in a modern urban setting, but it may create a tasteless disharmony in a rural area where houses are easily embedded in the green wealth of grass and trees. It is for this reason that in Bali new buildings, mostly hotels, are not allowed to rise above the top of the coconut trees which grow in abundance in the country-side and the beaches.

Those of you who have had the fortunate chance to visit Rome must have observed that all buildings, old and new, have an architectural style and colour which pleasantly fit into the atmosphere of the Forum Romano, the Colosseum and other structures inherited from the glorious past of the great Roman Empire. This cultural inheritance is the pride of the Italian people and at the same time it is the fascinating attraction for all people in the world. Both the local population and the international tourist highly appreciate the harmonious perpetuation of those ancient cultural elements in the modern houses and other buildings.

Other tourism sites, also those in less developed countries, have their particular cultural systems, expressed in their architecture, their city layout, and their way of utilizing their



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natural environment. They also would greatly appreciate it if modern hotels in their area would be constructed, perhaps with some elements of modernization, in a way that shows due regard to the indigenous style and cultural taste. Their pride and appreciation would even rise if from the beginning their building experts could be consulted, the available local material used, and their manpower be involved in the process of planning and constructing.

Tourism, both international and domestic, have indeed a strong rejuvenating and reinvigorating effect on local cultures and local arts. People in low income and low education areas very often feel ashamed of what they feel as backwardness in this modern age with high economy, high science, and high technology. They are therefore surprised that foreign visitors from far away and affluent countries show so much interest in their life style, their habits, their dances and other, cultural expressions. It is as if an injection of new life elements in their culture has been given through the growth of tourism. The Indonesian batik industry, strongly traditional in its production processes and the use of its products, was predicted by industrial experts to suffer from a slow process of death because of its incapability of adaption to modern demands. International tourism which started to develop in the late 1960's in this country has blown new life in the batik industry until its products became a national pride and gained international acceptance in the garment industries.

On the other hand, it should be frankly admitted that the development of the visitors industry into mass tourism carries with it the seeds of self-destruction. Uncontrolled proliferation of tourism facilities in an area may cause irreparable damage to the very elements of attraction which made tourism grow at the start. A beautiful site in a world famous island has destroyed its own charm by becoming a jungle of hotels. Other parts of the globe where religious belief systems have created institutions, architectural styles, ornamental arts, and solemn ceremonies have attracted tourists from all over the world in such large numbers that all that had religious content became show pieces to foreign visitors. The devotion to the sacred Deity and the spiritual search for the deeper meaning of life changed rapidly into a worldly effort to gain material and financial profits. The religious became economic, and

with this change the structural basis of the indigenous culture assumes a distorted form, thereby relinquishing all the charm and enchantment it had both for the local population and the foreign visitors.

The present Indonesian policy of tourism development on the island of Bali, world famous for its pure religious culture, attempts to protect this culture from what cynics refer to as "tourism pollution" by allowing hotels, golf courses and other modern immovable tourist facilities to be built and operated only in a restricted area, the Nusa Dua area in the southern part of the island. Tourists are free to roam around over the island but care will be taken that they would move to the place where customary and religious ceremonies and art performances are traditionally carried out while efforts will be made against moving those ceremonies and rituals to the tourists in their hotels.

The Indonesian people know that there is no gain without sacrifice, and that there is no benefit without cost. But if the sacrifice exceeds the gain and the cost kills the benefit there is no reason for continuing the development project. In the development of a tourist site the gains and benefits are clearly economic, while the sacrifice and cost are cultural, social and perhaps environmental. This is the right place and the right moment, I believe, to appeal to tourism site developers and investors all over the world to help in maximizing the gains and minimizing the sacrifice and cost, wherever a tourism site is to be developed.

One more appeal may be administered in this context. The development of a tourism industry in a site, particularly if it is located in an economically less developed region, is bound to create serious imbalances in financial and material earnings. Compared to the prevailing level in the economic environment wages and salaries in the tourism industry are sometimes considerably high. The imbalance it brings about with the remaining part of the local economy more often than not generates social tensions, especially when the surrounding community does not have the potentialities to organize itself and lift its economy to the higher level of the tourism site. Many of you know of modern tourism sites which stand out as alien islands of affluence in an ocean of relative poverty. This situation is in the eyes of the local population an injustice, and therefore should be remedied.



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One of the ways towards softening the injustice and restoring the economic imbalance is to help the local population to organize small workshops, restaurants, laundry establishments, chicken farms and other low capital enterprises which can serve the needs of tourists either directly or through the operation of nearby hotels. Such projects of environmental development can productively be undertaken through the joint efforts of the local government and the tourism industry.

These then are a few of the problems and possibilities inherent in the process of the development of a tourism site, with emphasis on sites in less developed countries. Surely there are still many more facets and aspects in this kind of development. As a matter of fact tourism site development is of utmost importance to hotel chains, construction companies, banks, travel agencies, tour operators, surface transport services, governments, and to both tourist generating and tourist receiving countries. It is a subject of many problems, involving many interests, and consequently deserving serious discussion and study conducted by the experts.

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# NATIONAL RESILIENCE AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE

Wiratmo SOEKITO

At a farewell reception for delegations from non-aligned countries who had attended a preparatory meeting in Kuala Lumpur, in May 1972, the Indonesian Chief delegate, Mr. Didi Djajadiningrat, told me that for Indonesia the question was not one of collective defence but national resilience.

At that time, dominated by the international mood emanating from the historic trips which President Nixon had recently undertaken to Peking and Moscow, the non-aligned countries at this meeting were generally inclined to draw the conclusion that the East-West détente projected by Mr. Nixon's trips would not automatically eradicate the sphere of influence of the superpowers in smaller nations; and, in fact there was even a fear that such a détente may tend towards a "condominium"<sup>1</sup>.

I could, therefore, understand why the Indonesian Chief delegate had forwarded the concept of national resilience.

This position tempted me to argue that national resilience as introduced by the Indonesian Chief delegate was the logic of Indonesia's foreign policy often formulated as an active and independent foreign policy.

In the *Outlines of the State Policy* (Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara), as Supplement of the People's Consultative Assembly of

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<sup>1</sup> In my report on the Kuala Lumpur preparatory meeting, published by *Sinar Harapan* in its edition of 26 June, 1972; entitled *Masalah-masalah Bilateral dan Masalah-masalah Dunia* (Bilateral and World Problems) I quoted Mr. Zainal Sulong, a member of the Malaysian delegation, who told me in an interview: "We must welcome the great powers reducing tension. It is a good thing, but that which arouses suspicion is the possibility of approaches between two powers which are so strong causing an atmosphere or a development affecting the Southeast Asian and other territories.....".



the Republic of Indonesia No. IV/MPR/1973, it is stated that Indonesia will continue "taking steps to re-inforce the stability of the Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific Region, so as to enable countries in this region to have *the capability of taking care of their own future through the development of their own respective national resilience*, and to strengthen the forum and cooperation between member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations". It further states that one of the main tasks of ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) is "to participate in the preservation of stability in Southeast Asia so as to support an active (and) independent foreign policy aimed at *rallying the national resilience* with the ASEAN countries as its focus, to serve as the basis for *regional resilience* of Southeast Asia"<sup>1</sup>. (Author's emphasis).

In a general session of the MPR on 15 March, 1973, while debating the Political Report delivered by Gen. Soeharto as President/Mandatory of the MPR, the ABRI Representative Gen. Sarwo Edhie Wibowo stated that he deemed it necessary to bring to the fore, among others, the question of promoting *President Soeharto's doctrine of national resilience*<sup>2</sup>. He further stated that in accordance with this aim his faction in its activities was laying stress on four areas including the application of an active and independent foreign policy conducive to the development of the nation and the promotion of *national resilience*<sup>3</sup>.

President Soeharto elaborated his doctrine of national resilience in his State Address before the DPR-GR session of 16 August, 1969. "Indeed", said the President, "there are still those nations wanting to enforce their will upon other nations, however, this can be dealt with if we possess strong national resilience in all fields"<sup>4</sup>. He continued by saying that "Military pacts have proven not to be

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<sup>1</sup> *Himpunan Ketetapan-ketetapan MPR 1973*, C.V. Pantjuran Tujuh, pp. 79—82.

<sup>2</sup> Pemandangan Umum Fraksi ABRI pada SU MPR Tanggal 15 Maret 1973, *Harian Angkatan Bersenjata*, 21 Maret 1973.

<sup>3</sup> *Harian Angkatan Bersenjata*, 19 March 1973.

<sup>4</sup> *Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia Djendral Soeharto di depan Sidang DPR-GR 16 Agustus 1969*, Departemen Penerangan RI p. 38.

an effective form of defence as they would weaken our national resilience and identity<sup>1</sup>..

In another section of the Address, the President did not fail to point out that *ideology* which is consistent with the nation's identity is a "prime condition for national resilience" and that besides ideological resilience, "resilience in the economic, social, cultural and defence-security fields"<sup>2</sup>, are also required.

From the above discussion I believe it is possible to understand the meaning of national resilience as presented in this discourse, therefore, a formal definition will not be forwarded.

## II

The question which I would like to bring to the fore is whether *culture* does in fact play a role in the determination of national resilience.

Having forwarded this question I believe it is necessary to explain that my idea is *not* one of resilience in the field of culture in *sensu stricto*.

In this discourse, the conception of culture is essentially identical to that formulated by Josef Kohler when that German jurist stated that, culture (*Kultur*) is "the greatest possible development of human knowledge and the greatest possible development of human control over nature"<sup>3</sup>.

Taking this conception as our point of departure I am of the opinion that culture can be differentiated according to its aspects, namely as pointed out by Leslie White, the aspect of technology,

<sup>1</sup> *Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia Djendral Soeharto di depan Sidang DPR-GR 16 Agustus 1969*, Departemen Penerangan RI p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.* p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Kohler, *Moderne Rechtsprobleme*, p. 11 was quoted by W.F. Hocking in *Present Status of the Philosophy of Law*, p. 32, and the latter was quoted by John H. Hallowell in *The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology* (1946) p. 100.



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the aspect of social structure, and the aspect of ideology<sup>1</sup>. It follows that White is not likely to agree to the view which states that culture is "a set of psychological responses to public objects", a view having very great influence but in the non-technological sense which has reduced the conception of culture into an aspect of a cultural system which by White is called "ideological sub-system". In other words, in White's opinion, ideology is a mere part of culture rather than the opposite view that culture is part of an ideology.

Therefore ideology, being a sub-cultural system should be subordinated to culture, noting, however, that, the idea of culture here is not identical with that of aesthetic culture (art). A more detailed exposition of this concept will be presented below.

While considering the logical consequence of this postulate, I am tempted to refer to Panca-Sila more as a culture rather than as an ideology, because, seemingly, Panca-Sila is not a sub-cultural system. The reason is, if Panca-Sila is merely an ideological sub-system, or if it has been reduced to such, then, Panca-Sila still has to be subordinated to a cultural pattern. It is culture and not ideology which is being made his end when Kohler says that "the content of law continually changes but the goal remains the same" and contends that "this goal may not be achieved by the activities of the individuals alone" and that "the final agency to carry out the cultural ends of a particular time and place is the state"<sup>2</sup>.

In my opinion, there has been some muddling between ideology and culture when one is speaking of Panca-Sila.

### III

Because of muddling I deem it necessary to underline the differentiation of the aspects of culture presented by White. Indeed, as has been stated by A.W. Singham and N.L. Singham in their

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<sup>1</sup> White, *The Science of Culture*, quoted by A.W. Singham and N.L. Singham in *Cultural Domination and Political Subordination*, published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Cambridge Univ. Press, June 1973, p: 262.

<sup>2</sup> Kohler, quoted by John H. Hallojwell, *op. cit.* p. 100—101.

paper dealing with the theory of the political system in the Caribbean states, the majority of political scientists attempt to separate the ideological sub-system from the other sub-cultural systems and treat it as a cultural aspect of prime significance<sup>1</sup>.

It should be noted, however, that Western colonialism is a historical reality and that such colonialism, as pointed out by Marshall Sahlins, reflects the capability of a culture to impose domination over other cultures<sup>2</sup>.

In my opinion, the capability of these Western imperiums does not lie in the field of ideology, but rather in the field of technology. It has been properly stated by Singham, when elaborating on the difference between the cultural systems of Northern America and Russia on the one hand and the cultural system of Europe on the other, that, at first, the European system exported its technology through direct colonization of the world, creating a number of units under economic and political subordination called colonies. Singham pointed out that, in the initial stages, European expansion (to its colonies) required the conquering of Asia, Africa, and parts of Latin America, where political control was achieved through the use of military power. "However", said Singham, "internal considerations within the Euro-state system, and especially the conflict of the Allies with Germany and Japan, resulted in a shift in the balance of power from Western Europe to North America and the Soviet Union. The high cost of maintaining direct political control, and the fact that indirect control became more feasible under the new mercantilism, led to the creation of a number of newly independent nation-states in the post-war period. However, these new nations have now become part of the subordinate systems of North America and the Soviet Union, which have also absorbed the formerly dominant European cultural system"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Singham. *op. cit.* p. 262, said: "What most political scientists have attempted to do is to isolate the third factor, the ideological arena; and deal with it as the most important part of the culture".

<sup>2</sup> Sahlins and Service, eds, *Evolution and Culture*, University of Michigan Press (1960), p. 74, quoted by Singham as contending that "cultural evolution has moved simultaneously in two directions: on the one hand there is an increasing homogeneity of the higher cultural type; and on the other hand there is an increasing of culture as the diversity of culture types is reduced".

<sup>3</sup> Singham, *op. cit.* p. 263.



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Perhaps the ideological resilience of those colonized nations which emerged as newly independent nation-states after World War II remains unbreakable by the Western ideologies. The Asian nations, for example, (India, China, Viet-Nam, Indonesia) which, until the beginning of this century, constituted colonized peoples realized that their ideological sub-systems were superior to the ideological sub-system of the Western nations who dominated them in the economic and political fields<sup>1</sup>. Even during the regime of the late President Soekarno, I was vexed by a feeling which led me to question whether Soekarno had not studied in some depth the Structure of the Dutch East-Indies' colonial power, the knowledge of which he was able to utilize to command his people — like Zeus who, having rebelled against Cronus and come to power had followed the manner of the fallen tyrant by extirpating the whole race of man — and in turn whether this power structure of the Dutch East Indies' colonialism seen from the point of view of ideology (and social structure) did not constitute just a continuation of the traditional culture of this colonized nation.

More than ten years after such questioning, I felt I had found support from Singham who said: "Kathleen Gough, in numerous instances, has very effectively demonstrated the close connection between these studies of traditional societies and the ideologies of imperialism and the old-style colonialism. George Balandier, the French anthropologist, has documented extensively that much of the anthropological literature has tended to analyse the experiences of the African peoples in isolation from the imperial system with which they were in-extricably linked and which was transforming their traditional institutions. This academic dichotomy between indigenous political institutions and the imperial system within which they operated was an early manifestation of the use of the

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note Mr. Moh. Said Reksohadiprodjo conclusion out in his paper entitled. "The Inner Life of the Javanese", published in *The Indonesian Quarterly*, October 1973. "The Kejawen mental attitude", he said, "implies a tolerance and openness to ideas whatever they are and from wherever they come, without, however, losing one's autonomy and critical sense of objectivity. This is a tolerance and openness based not on an 'I don't care' mentality but on "respect for the ideas and convictions of others ..... "This point reflects the unbreakable ideological resilience encountering with the Western ideologies during the colonial periods in this country.

concept of the dual society which was later extensively adopted by orthodox social scientists in other disciplines<sup>1</sup>.

In 1970, when for the first time I visited South Viet-Nam, I observed that there was the feeling among the Vietnamese that Viet-Nam's culture was far superior to the American and other Western cultures.

It is, therefore, obvious that despite the direct and indirect domination of the Western nations over the Asian nations in the economic and political fields, these Asian nations generally continue to possess ideological resilience. It must be noted, however, that ideological resilience alone could not assure the failure of domination by other nations. Japan's phenomenon, as an Asian nation, has behind it the fact that ideological resilience would be able to frustrate domination by others if this ideological resilience is coupled with technological endurance, or in other words, if the ideological resilience is not being isolated from the cultural endurance.

#### IV

Some 25 years ago I was attracted by a theory which stated that political domination would form a factor decisive for achievements in the field of art and science. My conviction about the truth of this theory increased, when a Dutch journalist who usually rejected my views, justified a thesis which I had contended on the basis of that theory in a radio broadcast.

However, I started to doubt the theory when a Dutch literary critic happened to ask me to explain the phenomenon of Rabindranath Tagore, since this Indian man-of-letters was not only great for his own people, but also great for the whole world, including the European nations; whereas, in his lifetime, India was under the domination of Britain. I came to realize, at that time that for a long period I had been under the influence of a theory which contended that "politics is commander."

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<sup>1</sup> Singham, *op. cit.* pp. 258—259.



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By the time of the preparation of the draft of the 1963 Cultural Manifesto (Manifes Kebudayaan), I had already dissociated myself from that theory, having come to the conclusion that the struggle for the independence of the great nations was inspired by spiritual forces working within the cultural activities.

It is indeed true, that the success of such struggles would produce drives towards development in cultural activities, however, the spiritual forces in the cultural activities would have already begun to work before the independence struggle had achieved success. It should also be remembered that the course of history, having its base on the political power achieved during the independence struggle, would be able to create counter-productive forces in the cultural activities, or, if ever inspired but not consequent. In the latter case, it could happen if the spiritual forces had turned into physical forces, due to the inability of practising the teaching of the philosopher Pythagoras who said that it is the spirit which would win (*psüchè nükè*).

Greek history around the time of 500 B.C. is one example of the historic truth that the independence struggle of the great nations has generally been inspired by the spiritual forces which have started working in the earlier cultural activities. At the beginning of the 5th century B.C., the greatest part of Asia Minor had been dominated by Persia. The colonies of Greece, and, even, Egypt had fallen in the hands of Persia, but, the motherland of Greece itself had not yet, being still only under the threat of the Persian great power. Eventually, preparations were made for the take-over of the remnants of the Greek states not yet under subjugation. However, beyond anybody's expectation, Greece managed to beat back the Persian troops trying to land at Marathon (490), Salamis (480) and Plataeae (479). In this way, the young Greek nation succeeded in defending her independence.

In this struggle for independence, Aeschylus (525-456), a great Athenian tragedy poet, joined the fight in the battle front of Salamis, when he was 45, as a commander of the Greek Navy. Sophocles (496-406), another great Greek tragedy poet, was only 16 when the war in Salamis erupted. He played the victory dance in front of the Greek youths who were celebrating the triumph of the independence struggle of their young nation. Euripides

(480-405), who is also an exponent of Greek tragedy, was born in the year when the war in Salamis was raging.

If Aeschylus had not been born it could have been concluded that the success of the independence struggle inspired the spiritual activities in the cultural realm as with, for example, the great tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides. Undoubtedly, the triumphal victory of the independence struggle did inspire these great Greek tragedy poets. "The stakes", said Diodorus of Agyrium, "for which the Hellenes were called upon to fight were slavery or freedom, while the fact that the Hellenic communities in Asia had already been enslaved created a presumption in every mind that the communities in Hellas itself would experience the same fate. When, however, the war resulted, contrary to expectation, in a Greek victory, the inhabitants of Hellas found themselves not only relieved from the dangers which had threatened them but also the possessors, of honour and glory, while every Hellenic community was filled with such affluence that the whole world was astonished at the completeness with which the situation had been reversed."<sup>1</sup>

Nonetheless, it should be taken into consideration that Arnold J. Toynbee, despite his agreement with such a conclusion as witnessed by his statement that the first perceptible social effect of this military and political triumph was to give Hellenism a stimulus to which it responded by bursting into flower in every field of activity, the British historian did not fail to remind us that "within less than fifty years of the momentous encounter whose cultural outcome was this Attic flowering of Hellenism, the political outcome of the same encounter came to a climax in a disaster which Hellas first failed to avert and then failed to retrieve"<sup>2</sup>.

Hence came my postulate pointed out in the previous passages of this discourse I would like to stress that the course of history, having its base on the political power achieved during the independence struggle, would be able to create counter-productive forces in the cultural activities.

For all this, I am inclined to say that behind the phenomenon of the success of the independence struggle of Greece, it is not

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Arnold J. Toynbee in *A Study of History* Vol. VIII, p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold J. Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 522.



ideology which is decisive, although it does play a role, but rather technology, notwithstanding its ancient and simple form. With White, we understand by technology simply the capacity of a particular culture to develop tools to transform nature<sup>1</sup>.

The capability of a culture to adapt technology to a changing environment is a requisite for the culture to stand out.

## V

It is in this context that we must observe the complaints heard in the West European countries, particularly after the end of World War II, about a cultural crisis, turning to Oswald Spengler with his famous work entitled *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (The Decline of the West), published at the end of World War I.

Since then West European philosophers and historians have been speaking of a cultural crisis. "Already since World War I", said J. Clay, "many who, with concern and sense of responsibility observe human events, are asking to themselves whether culture, in which they participate or which they join in living to see, is prone to decline or whether its ultimate existence could be continued without obstacles. The idea about these possibilities was strongly being revived by books such as the work of O. Spengler: 'Untergang des Abendlandes', and one saw obviously, looking back in history, that various cultural periods are being declined"<sup>2</sup>. By forwarding Huizinga, the famous author of *Geschieden Wereld* (Defaced World), and Bergson, the famous author of *Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion* (The Two Sources of Morality and Religion), Clay warned that "our culture would slip into danger by technical advancement which is too strong threatening us to be mechanized"<sup>3</sup>.

The background of the pessimistic voices of the West European authors on their cultural crisis may be clearly perceived if we take note of what has been said by Singham: "In the international

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<sup>1</sup> White, quoted by Singham, *op. cit.* p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> J. Clay in *Kultuur en natuur*, published in *Algemeen Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Wijsbegeerte en Psychologie*, Febr. 1952, pp. 119—120.

<sup>3</sup> J. Clay, *op. cit.* p. 132.

system today, especially since World War II, we have seen a major shift from the once dominant European cultural system to two of its off-shoots, the North American and the Soviet Union"<sup>1</sup>.

If we return to Toynbee, for example, we would quickly realize that such a phenomenon in history is not alien to many historians. Unlike Singham, however, Toynbee did not take the end of World War II as his point of departure but rather World War I which he called the General War (1914-1918). According to Toynbee, this General War, which precipitated the dissolution of the Danubian Hapsburg Monarchy, brought the United States face to face with the same problem which had eventually defeated Hapsburg statemanship<sup>2</sup>. However, Toynbee warned that the American culture which is increasingly in a position to achieve its titanic enterprise of mastering a virgin island of almost continental dimensions after the immigration from the Old World, especially from those North-west European countries, into North America since the nineteenth century, is diffracted. This diffraction of the American culture, according to Toynbee, came after the latter-day immigration which flowed from the non-Northwest European countries, namely, from Italy, the Hapsburg Monarchy, and the Russian Empire (1898-1914). Having compared Northern American with Austro-Hungarian, Roman, and Ottoman instances, Toynbee draws a conclusion that this American instance explains why an impinging alien culture is always diffracted in the process of reception and is never swallowed whole at one gulp even in those rare encounters between two integral cultures in which the process fields its smoothest and quickest passage.<sup>3</sup> Said this historian, therefore, in his previous passage: "No reception without metabolization' is a healthily integrated society's war cry in answer to the challenge of a cultural assault"<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, a major shift took place from the European cultural system to "the superstate cultural system", the North American and the Soviet Union. The global system is suspected by the Third World, especially China, of being dominated by, in the words of Singham, a converging Euro-American cultural system which

<sup>1</sup> Singham, *op. cit.* p:263.

<sup>2</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> Toynbee; *op. cit.* p. 514.

<sup>4</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 502.



## NATIONAL RESILIENCE AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE

shares a common technology and a common concern to control and dominate the weaker cultural systems, despite different forms of economic and social organization in the two powerful superstates<sup>1</sup>. The crucial problem which is faced by the Americans is the problem of their diffraction of culture, i.e. the distinctive difference between America's North-west European and non-Northwest European contingents coming to settle in North America. If the Americans are in a position to solve this problem, then, the problem of real détente with the Soviet Union may cease being a conundrum.

Nevertheless, it may be a great over-simplification to think that the decline of Europe after the dissolution of the Danubian Hapsburg Monarchy means the lack of West European capacity to adapt its technology to the changing environment, so that it failed to sustain its culture.

Even though the emergence of the superstate cultural system is a fact it is interesting to note that, according to John Diebold, the gap between (Western) Europe and the United States is managerial rather than technological, and that its consequences, though serious enough to warrant European's attention, reflects the existence of natural comparative advantage among industrial nations".<sup>2</sup>

But hence came the remark of some critics who charged that the dominant Euro-American cultural system made a mockery of the concept of national sovereignty for the newly independent states. Singham deems it necessary to point out that nationalism remains a meaningful force in the world at present, because, "the lingering force of nationalism is one of the major barriers to the total penetration by the now dominant superstate cultural system, with the multinational corporation at the technological base,"<sup>3</sup> while, as pointed out by Kari Levitt, "even the 'advanced' countries of had also resolved to support all struggle against colonialism and of this new form of technological dominance."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Singham, *op. cit.* p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> John Diebold in *Is the Gap Technological?* published in an American quarterly review *Foreign Affairs*, January 1968, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Singham, *op. cit.* p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Kari Levitt, *Silent Surrender* (1970), quoted by Singham, *op. cit.* p. 264.

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

The state of affairs is thus clear, but, in my opinion, our nationalist politicians and leaders, in their reaction to the West European cultural crisis, have wrongly concluded that the colonized peoples would reap great benefit from such a cultural crisis in line with the ideals of their independence. Such a belief can be seen for example in the writings of Soekarno, who, on the eve of World War II, forecast the decline of the West European imperiums. However, developments since that time have shown that it is not the colonized peoples but the United States and the Soviet Union which have taken over from the once dominant European cultural system. The process of decolonization generated by the West European imperiums may be compared with the process of disintegration of the ancient regimes in Europe. Just as the disintegration of those ancient regimes by Western bourgeoisie projected the poverty of the proletariat, so the Western decolonization projected the developing nations which while seemingly independent are in fact the objects of the superstate cultural system.

Under such conditions, the concept of national resilience should have been considered much earlier as we can easily be subject to self-deceit if we do not come to realize that we have made national resilience a mere ideology. As I have already pointed out, a nation can continue to possess its ideological resilience, but in the economic and political fields dependent on other nations.

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# INDO-INDONESIAN RELATIONS :

## AN INDIAN VIEWPOINT

Dilip CHANDRA

The cultural affinities, common values and centuries old ties between India and Indonesia are always highlighted and emphasized by speakers on the above subject. Very hopeful statements are made relating to the ties of eternal friendship existing between these two countries. The closeness of India and Indonesia during the days of their struggle for independence and during the early days of the cold war is often cited as examples to show the continuation of close ties between these two ancient countries in the modern times.

Notwithstanding all this optimism, to a close observer of events, the facts cannot be lost sight of. To anyone following the course of events relating to Indo-Indonesian relationship over the last two and a half decade, much of this optimism would appear to be merely tall claims. This is, however, not to say that the two countries are no longer good friends. In the diplomatic terminology, it could be, perhaps described as a 'correct' relationship. The more optimistic still think that it is very friendly. It is not my purpose here to enter into a debate on this issue, which is more a matter of semantics rather than anything else. The fact remains that when we are reminded of the days of the conference for Indonesian independence in New Delhi in 1947, or for that matter of an event like the daring rescue operation by Bija Patnaik, when he flew Sutan Sjahrir out of Yogyakarta during the Dutch Military Action, and perhaps many other such events, we generally tend to feel a bit nostalgic about those 'good old days'. To my mind, those 'good old days' are definitely over and perhaps for good, since things have changed considerably over the years. Any close relationship between these two countries will now have to be based upon the changed political and economic situations prevailing in

the whole South and Southeast Asia in general, and in these two countries in particular. And yet, in order to appreciate fully these changed realities, we have to go back to the past, if only for a little while, to take the necessary directives from it for guidance in the future. It is not my purpose here to give a historical sketch of the events which are well known. I would only attempt to highlight those issues and events which I feel were significant and had a considerable bearing upon the relationship between these two countries.

### COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM

India's foreign policy, like perhaps any other country's foreign policy, has been and is still, a projection of certain values which her people and the leaders have cherished and nurtured all their lives. In accordance with these values, India has always pursued a policy of non-alignment, and peaceful coexistence. She had also resolved to support all struggle against colonialism and exploitation in any form, in any part of the world. Nearly three decades ago, India and Indonesia were both engaged in their struggle against their colonial rulers, the British and the Dutch respectively. This was the main theme which brought India and Indonesia very close to each other, for their goals were the same. Their common objective led the people of both countries to look to each other for inspiration. Indian leaders like Gandhi and Tagore inspired the Indonesians greatly. Indians too admired the spirit and the courage of the Indonesians. They were also conscious of the cultural similarities between them and presently in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, the age old cultural ties were much talked about. At the same time India gave her unfailing support to the cause of Indonesian independence in various national and international forums. She also tried to send, within her limited capacities, material help to Indonesia in the form of medicines and other relief supplies. Indonesia reciprocated by similar gestures.



## INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

Subsequently, independence came to both and the two newly born republics found much in common with regard to their political, economic and social problems. In the first half of the 50s we find frequent exchange of visits, at the governmental as well as private levels, of planners, scholars, journalists, military good-will missions and so on, between the two countries. Because of their common objectives in the past, both the countries took a healthy interest in the activities of each other in all the sectors of development. An Indo-Indonesian cultural agreement was signed in Kanpur, India, in February 1953.

A more important and stable basis for cooperation between the two countries was their similar principles relating to the conduct of foreign affairs. Both of them wanted to adhere strictly to a policy of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence, non-interference in other's domestic affairs and support to struggle against colonialism all over the world. The last item formed the active part in their respective foreign policies. Identity of approach between the two could be seen on the Korean issue, the Vietnam issue, the Morocco question and other international issues. Both of them strongly advocated the recognition of the People's Republic of China in the international forums, and themselves cultivated closer ties with this new Republic. These were the days of the 'cold war' and India and Indonesia did their utmost to build up the 'Third World', the Afro-Asian Unity based on non-alignment and neutrality. There was close cooperation between the two in this direction and between themselves, and also with the help of some other Asian countries, they managed to hold the first Afro-Asian countries conference in Bandung, in April 1955, in which over 25 countries of these two continents participated, including the People's Republic of China. The reality and the relevance of the non-aligned countries was asserted here for the first time as it was an assertion of their independent position among the nations of the world. The desire for world peace was also demonstrated here and a close liaison between these Afro-Asian countries was established in order to get closer and remove ignorance about each other. Following the tremendous success of this first conference, several non-aligned conferences were held at regular intervals here afterwards.

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

The Indo-Indonesian relations at this point of time could justly be termed as 'extremely cordial'. India gave her strong and consistent support to Indonesia over the West Irian issue which had been taken before the United Nations. Indonesia, on the other hand, maintained an absolutely neutral stand over the Kashmir issue, and expressed time and again her desire for peace in this part of the world. She was also prepared to assist in this process if it were feasible. Indonesia also showed keen interest in the concept of the Pancasila; the formula for peaceful coexistence evolved by India vis-à-vis her relations with China. Between 1955-60, the Bandung spirit and the spirit of the aforementioned 'Pancasila' pervaded the relationship between the two countries.

### INDONESIA IN THE LATE 50S

The late 50s were an eventful period especially from the Indonesian point of view. Following the first general elections of 1955-56 in Indonesia, the results of which did not prove to be decisive for any single political party, President Sukarno introduced his idea of 'Guided Democracy' in the country in an effort to prevent further political chaos in the country. The disgruntled elements in the society, however, did not refrain from creating trouble, and the next few years saw armed rebellions in some of the areas of the country, which took about five years to be put down completely. Over these years, there were two more important developments in Indonesia. Having failed to achieve her rightful claims on West Irian through international forums, Indonesia adopted a more militant posture with regard to this issue. The atmosphere in Indonesia became more and more charged with revolutionary fervour, and it was believed that there was something like a conspiracy by many imperialist countries which were trying to prevent Indonesia from including West Irian into her territories. The clamour against imperialism and colonialism became louder and sharper than ever in this country. These years also saw increasingly closer Sino-Indonesian ties and it would perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that these strengthening of ties were



partly related to the West Irian issue. Added to this was Sukarno's personal inclination towards Peking and the rising power of the leftist forces within the country.

### **BELGRADE CONFERENCE OF 1961**

India was facing her own problems at this juncture with regard to her relationship with China. The Indian support to Indonesia on the West Irian issue was, however, firm and consistent. In spite of this there was a certain difference of opinion noticeable at the Non-Aligned Conference at Belgrade in 1961, between Nehru and Sukarno as to the questions of priorities before the non-aligned countries. Nehru at this stage was more concerned about nuclear weapons which threatened world peace and he was inclined to view the struggle of the 'Third World' in this global context. Sukarno, with the issue of West Irian predominant in his mind, had some differences with Nehru in this context. He also wanted, things to be more specific. These differences have also been viewed as a clash of two big personalities who led the two of the largest countries of Asia.

### **1962 AND AFTER**

The following year, 1962, was a more fateful one from the point of view of Indo-Indonesian relationship. Towards the end of this year China committed military aggression against India along the northeastern frontiers of the latter. This was a period when the Sino-Indonesian ties were quite warm, and Indonesia did not come out in support of India. In short, Indonesia did not accept that India was the aggrieved party, a fact which, both, surprised and hurt India to a considerable extent. A minor incident relating to certain remains made by the Indian Mr. Sandhi, on the occasion

of the Asian Games which were being held in Jakarta in the same year, also polluted the atmosphere further and caused unpleasant feelings on both sides.

The following three years saw a further deterioration in the relationship between the two countries. During these three years Indonesia followed a more isolationist foreign policy than she had ever done before. The main issue was still West Irian which had all along formed the corner stone of the Indonesian foreign policy. Design of the imperialists was seen in every international event, and Indonesia gradually isolated herself from the western world. She withdrew her membership from the United Nations, and also refused to participate in the Olympic Games of 1964. The whole world was divided into the 'Old Established Forces' and the 'New Emerging Forces', and Indonesia became the champion of the latter. There was a general anti-west feeling in the atmosphere. The confrontation with Malaysia was a manifestation of the suspicions of the Indonesian government as to the motives of the western power. Demonstrations in front of the US Embassy became a regular feature and the relationship with the United States reached an all time low. The attacks on the Indian Embassy in Jakarta in 1965 and the deteriorating relations with India should be viewed in this context.

India at this point also had many difficult problems to cope with, internal as well as external. The recent military threat from China was one of her main preoccupations which engaged much of her time and resources. The death of Prime Minister Nehru in 1964 was another setback which she had to reckon with. The Kashmir dispute with Pakistan was flaring up again and with the increasingly friendly ties between Pakistan and China, the two neighbours of India, the latter had to settle down grimly to the task of strengthening its defences in case of an attack by either of them. For compelling reasons at home, therefore, India could not make any concrete efforts to improve her relations with Indonesia at this stage.

The outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan in September 1965 almost coincided with the attacks on the Indian Embassy in Jakarta. Indonesia, as a result of her changed policy, did not maintain her earlier position vis-à-vis the Kashmir problem between India and Pakistan, and the Indo-Pak conflict. At the official level no positive stand was taken and the question of the



aggressor in the conflict was not commented upon. But the general feeling was one which was not too favourably disposed towards India. The unfortunate misunderstandings, built up over the last few years had its evil effects. Suspicions raged on both sides and there was even talk of military supplies being sent to Pakistan via Indonesia, an issue which was even discussed in the Indian parliament, but fortunately found to be an ungrounded one. The net result of all this was that the relationship between these two 'old friends' had now reached the lowest ever level and it was at this point that Indonesia saw perhaps the greatest upheaval in its history, since independence.

### THE NEW ORDER AND AFTER

When the September 30 Affair (Gestapu) took place, leading to the murder of the eight generals by the communists, and the subsequent take-over of the government, by the Army, the picture was still a greatly confused one. Sukarno's obvious complicity in the affair led to his house arrest and subsequent removal from the scene. But even as he left the scene, the country had reached almost a state of financial bankruptcy and the law and order situation was appalling. The task of the people who took over could justly be said to be one of clearing the 'Augean Stables'. The next three years, therefore, saw Indonesia's new leadership grimly set about putting their own house in order. The restoration of relationship with the outside world, and also the task of restoring peace and security at home were the main preoccupations of the new regime. Indonesia returned to the United Nations, gave up the policy of confrontation with Malaysia and generally tried to restore her image before the nations of the world. Missions were sent out to different countries of the world in an effort to regain their confidence in Indonesia's capacity to overcome her troubles, as well as to obtain loans and aids from different countries to enable her to rehabilitate her ruined economy and financial distress caused by the previous regime.

Around the same period, India also confronted more than enough problems at home to keep her engrossed for some time. The inconclusive war with Pakistan had resulted in a large amount of loss of life and property on both sides without giving any tangible benefits to either country. The war was followed by the Tashkent Agreement in 1966 between India and Pakistan, whereby the Soviet Union emerged as the mediator and for the first time took an active part in the affairs of her two southern neighbours. A significant event which followed was the death of the new Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, which in due course led to the emergence of the new leadership in the country. The new leadership in India was also kept busy for a considerable period with many challenges at home.

### **MUTUAL EFFORTS TO RESTORE FRIENDSHIP AGAIN**

The year 1969 saw definite moves on the part of India and Indonesia to restore their ties once again, though under changed situations. Two important events took place that year. In August 1969, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, paid an official visit to Indonesia. During her visit, the Indian Prime Minister emphasized to the Indonesian President the immense importance which India attached to Indonesia as an emerging power in this region. Mrs. Gandhi also extended an invitation to President Soeharto to visit India.

Again, from 1969 onwards, annual bilateral talks at the Foreign Minister level were started between the two countries. Also during early 1969, the Indonesian Foreign Minister Mr. Adam Malik came to India. This was followed by a visit of the Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh to Indonesia in the latter half of 1971 and also by a visit of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX to India around the same time that year. In April 1973, Mr. Adam Malik again paid a visit to India. Apart from these official visits, there have also been several exchange of visits by important dignitaries, service chiefs and others between the two countries since 1969.



**THE BANGLADESH ISSUE AND INDONESIA**

The year 1971-72, again saw India facing very serious troubles at her frontiers. A civil war broke out between the eastern and the western wings of Pakistan in 1971, which led to an influx of a million refugees from East Pakistan into the territories of India. The issue was fraught with grave economic and military problems for India and it led to serious tensions between India and Pakistan once again finally culminating in another full scale war between India and Pakistan, during the course of which the eastern wing of Pakistan separated itself from its western half and proclaimed the new Republic of Bangladesh. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss this war, and the reference to it here is made only from the point of view of Indo-Indonesian relationship. The issue was one of great magnitude for India, but was viewed by other countries, including Indonesia, from their own angle. Indonesia was cautious in her approach towards the problem for reasons of her own. She had herself faced armed uprisings within her territories for a long time since her independence, and was naturally a bit hesitant to support any secessionist movement in any other country, especially in one which was a friend and close to the region. As a result when the emissary from Bangladesh came on a trip to Southeast Asia to explain the position of his country, he was not allowed to address any gathering in Indonesia. In due course, as the realities of the existence of Bangladesh was accepted all over the world, Indonesia too recognized Bangladesh.

The issue, though not leading to any tensions between India and Indonesia, led to a certain amount of apprehension on both sides relating to their respective attitudes to each other. This might have been aggravated by some other factors too, namely, India's increasingly closer relationship over the last few years, with the Soviet Union. It was not unlikely on the part of another country in this region to put things together and view this phenomenon as an effort by India to emerge as a big power in the area, with the backing of the Soviet Union. India at this point did the right thing by not trying to give any credence to these rumours and imaginary fears which might have existed in some quarters. Instead she adopted a more positive approach of trying to improve her relations

with Pakistan. It was mainly as a result of India's efforts that the Simla Conference came to be held in 1972, followed by the settlement of important problems like exchange of prisoners etc. With the recent recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan in February 1974, the main obstacle now has been removed and there are hopeful signs of normalization of the situation in the Indian sub-continent. This recognition has also been a welcome event from the point of view of Indo-Indonesian relations.

### FUTURE PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Looking back over the events of the last few years, we can be somewhat hopeful about the prospects of the brightening of Indo-Indonesian relationship in the near future. There are indications to this as there are danger signals too. The important one from the latter is the certain amount of apprehension with which the Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971 is viewed in this region. There are rumours of India's trying to sell the Soviet Union's idea of 'Collective Security' to Southeast Asia. India would do well to dispel these fears wherever they exist for these rumours are being floated by interested parties. The only way India could do this would be to emphasize the mutually beneficial aspects of the Indo-Soviet Treaty to either country. India and the Soviet Union have long been partners in the field of economic development and other related areas. The Treaty of 1971 is therefore only a culmination of friendly ties between these two neighbouring countries for cooperating in the economic, cultural and technical fields. The treaty is not directed towards a third country and there are no secret clauses to it. It is surely a treaty of peace and not of war.

A few words relating to the Indian Ocean problem is also in order at this stage. There have been wide rumours again relating to India offering bases to the Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean. India, as a matter of policy has always opposed the establishment of any foreign bases, military, naval or air, and has vowed to thwart any such attempt in her own territory. India is in full agreement with the U.N. General Assembly Resolution adopted on December 16,



1971, designating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace for all time. Unfortunately, these repeated statements by the Indian government relating to India's desire to see the Indian Ocean as a free zone and categorical denial of giving any military bases to the Soviet Union, has not yet fully convinced the other countries of the region who also have a stake in this issue, and it seems that greater and more concentrated efforts are needed to allay the fears in some quarters.

As mentioned earlier, the trends indicating future closer relationship between Indonesia and India seem quite favourable. The frequent exchange of visits by high officials and other important persons could be useful in the sense of a frank exchange of views on bilateral as well as different international issues. These could also be used as means for exploring further areas of cooperation between the two countries. Although trade between the two countries is at the moment at a low level, and one reason for this could be Indonesia's preoccupation with her problems since 1965, with Indonesia gradually building up a strong economy, there could be increased commercial exchanges as well as the establishment of several joint ventures in collaboration with Indian entrepreneurs. One such project, involving the establishment of a paper mill in Central Java is already under study. Such ventures could also be undertaken in other fields like textiles and synthetics. The Indian light engineering products could also find a market in Indonesia.

Apart from trade, cultural exchanges could also prove to be a very effective source of communication and understanding between the two countries. There is much in the culture of the two countries which could be mutually appreciated. Regular screening of films showing the economic development and other aspects of life in the respective countries could also be useful. Greater exchange of academicians between the two countries is also a media which could be further explored in order to evolve a better understanding and appreciation of each other by the two countries, for it is through ignorance that misunderstandings are created. One such misunderstanding with regard to India in the present times is that she is being seen only as a vast country with her teeming millions, widespread disturbances and insurmountable problems. This image of India needs a bit of correction, for with all her problems notwithstanding, India remains one of the largest industrial nations of the world, with vast potentialities in terms of human and natural

resources, consequently, she can become a most useful partner in the programmes of economic development in Indonesia and other countries.

### CONCLUSION

Any talk of close Indo-Indonesian ties for the future must take into account the historical realities and the changed political and economic situation in the two countries. It must be remembered that the old days of political slogans are coming to an end. The changed present situation demands a much more pragmatic and rational approach to problems than ever before. An era of bilateral economic cooperation has dawned all over the world and most relationships are now being based on these lines. It is heartening to note that India views with admiration Indonesia's role within the ASEAN. Cooperation within the ASEAN is a reality for Indonesia just as the close cooperation with her neighbours in South Asia is important for India. Trade and economic interests have led to closer cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, just as the same interests have led Indonesia to pursue an 'open door' economic policy. These are realities which if fully appreciated by both countries would lead to strong ties of friendship on a rational basis. The roads may be different but the goals before the two countries are the same, economic development for the benefit of the people, and that is as good a basis as any other for developing understanding, respect and friendship between these two ancient countries.

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# CHRONICLE

## FEBRUARY

### Internal Affairs

The aftermath of the January 15 Affair and the preparations for the second Five-year Development Plan have been the two main themes of political life in Indonesia.

On February 4, a Council for Political Stability and National Security was installed by the President, who will directly serve as its chief, with the function of managing matters related to politics and security. The Council comprises of three committees: on internal politics, on foreign politics and on national security.

The Chief of Staff of the KOPKAMTIB, Admiral Soedomo, announced that there were 45 people arrested in connection with the January 15 Affair. The Attorney General, Mr. Ali Said, in the meantime explained that there were two legal sources to meet the problems of January 15: activities classified as criminal actions were to proceed in accordance with the existing criminal law, while activities which were categorised as political, were to be treated according to the subversive law.

Considering the fact that many university students were involved in the affair, steps to regulate university life were soon taken. On February 3, the Minister of Education and Culture held a special conference with all university administrators throughout Indonesia. On this occasion the Minister issued a decree concerning the administration of universities, coupled with five instructions on university participation in the second Five-Year Development Plan.

Three ministers, i.e. the Minister of Education and Culture, the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Religious Affairs, issued instructions to all provincial governors, university administrators and all those under their competence, to execute ordinances decreed by the KOPKAMTIB concerning extra-parliamentarian activities. It was stated that students and youth in

general should be given proper information on national development, and that they should not become involved in issues or activities which were detrimental to the national life. Universities, schools and other youth orientated centres were to be promoted.

On February 5, the Minister of Information explained that only those newspapers which had made use of the freedom of the press in an irresponsible manner, detrimental to democratic principles, social life and genuine social communication, were banned. The Indonesian press ought to reflect the three normative sources, namely the Pancasila, the Constitution and the Broad Lines of the State Policy.

On February 19, President Soeharto offered a basic explanation of the January 15 Affair to those Ministers involved in social welfare. Meanwhile as a consequence of the January 22 decree, President Soeharto further announced that the Minister of Defence and Security was to take charge of the control and management of the KOPKAMTIB, thereby enabling integration of the fields of order, security and defence to be effectively achieved.

In the meantime, in connection with the preparation of the PELITA II, matters concerning social welfare were widely discussed. In his first hearing with the Committee IX of the House of Representatives, on February 7, the Minister of Education and Culture explained the forthcoming educational policy. In his press conference of February 18, the Minister stated that the problem of education entailed the formulation of a suitable educational system and pedagogics, of increased quality together with the promotion of non-school education. Agriculture, mining, technology and accountancy are to be given priority, as they are very closely connected with the demands of social development. In the field of educational financing, efforts are to be made to perfect the existing system.

Together with the problem of education, population was also very much discussed. In the sessions of Ministers involved in the social welfare sectors this matter was also seriously discussed. The target of the population policy is to limit the increase by 2.2% a year up to the year 2000, by which time it was expected that the population of Indonesia will reach 240 million. After the year



2000 the increase was expected to amount to only 1% a year. To attain these objectives changes in attitudes are to be effected i.e. the promotion of the "small family" idea. The state Minister of Welfare, Mr. Soenawar Soekawati, therefore installed a national commission on population, consisting of 18 members to assist in the realization of this policy.

From February 15 through 21, a special commission of the House of Representatives was at work discussing and evaluating the REPELITA II. The Chief of the Bappenas, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Defence and Security and other ministers addressed the meeting. Factions in the House gave their comments and additional notes.

On February 28, the House of Representatives ratified the state budget for 1974 — 1975.

### Foreign Relations

On February 4, the ASEAN permanent committee held its conference in Jakarta. The conference reached agreement on several issues including plans to hold a conference with Japan, and acceptance of the idea of having an informal meeting between the ASEAN Secretary General and Australia.

From 7 through 9 February the ASEAN Secretary General held a meeting to discuss the proposed projects. The meeting further suggested the establishment of a Consumer Protection Board.

Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, led the Indonesian delegation to the Moslem Summit Conference at Lahore, which was held from 22 to 24 February.

From February 16 through 19, Mr. Robert McNamara visited Indonesia to inspect implemented development projects and to obtain information on the preparations for the PELITA II. McNamara visited several World Bank/IGGI supported development projects, including those at Way Seputih and the Way Abung. During his visit Mr. McNamara stated that the World Bank would continue its financial aids to Indonesia, with population projects, transmigration and agriculture as the main priorities. The education and transportation sectors are also to be given attention.

MARCH

Internal Affairs

As concrete materialisation of University participation in defining the PELITA II, a seminar on the second Five-Year Development Plan was held by the Faculty of Economics of the University of Gajah Mada, on March 2.

The seminar issued the following conclusions: (1) that greater attention has already been attributed to non-economic sectors; (2) there will be more decentralised management of development; (3) 3.2% of the allocated budget will be spent in new sectors, such as state apparatus construction, the promotion of science and technology, research and statistics, information and communication systems.

In the meantime from March 4 through 8 an ABRI Leaders' meeting took place in Jakarta, attended by 250 participants. In the opening address the Minister of Defence and Security explained that the strategy of defence and security was aimed at the construction of forces to support the struggle to attain national goals. This implies functions to overcome subversive actions both from within and from outside. ABRI ought to become a social force, for which the main mission would be the achievement of national development, which was the core-strategy of the New Order. The Minister further stressed that the change in the KOPKAMTIB's structure was meant to create a unified command and ensure fuller realization of the Constitution. The meeting reached several important conclusions, including the definition of the main function of the Department of Defence and Security. This meeting was soon followed by those of the leaders of the Army, the Air Force, the Police Force and the Navy.

Problems concerning rural development were highly discussed. In his interview with the *Suara Karya* daily on March 9, the President emphasized the urgency of rural development. 'It was the rural population which in fact had shouldered the burden of our struggle for political freedom', the President argued.

In his press conference of March 11, the Minister of Internal Affairs, explained that there were approximately 67694 rural areas,



encompassing the pre-rural areas (1724), the swadaya rural areas (28545), the swakarya rural areas (26306) and the swasembada rural areas (11119).

The Minister further announced that rural development was to be integrated with regional development, this being the reason why the President was soon to authorize the installation of a Regional Planning Board, which is to function simultaneously as both staff, to the provincial governors and to the national planning board.

Through a meeting of the Council for Political Stability and National Security on March 12, the government has decided to give a subvention to all political parties as well as to the Golkar, amounting to 2.5 million rupiahs per month for each. This decree was to become operative as from the beginning of April 1974.

From March 11 to 15 a third seminar on national law was held in Surabaya.

On March 14, President Soeharto signed the state budget for 1974 - 1975. In the meantime the President had issued two decrees which had wide implications, namely those on the pattern of a moderate life-style. Regulations were made requiring government officials to live in such a manner.

On March 16, a census of civil servants was simultaneously held throughout Indonesia. This census was aimed at obtaining credible data on the number as well as structure of the administrative system, such information being of importance for efforts to develop an effective system of administration.

On March 19, General Soemitro, the Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces resigned from all his official functions.

On March 25, a week long seminar on wayang was opened in Jakarta. The seminar's discussion centered around the problem of Indonesianising the wayangs and on wayang's role in the educative process, particularly in mass education. President Soeharto, addressing the participants, stated that he felt that the pattern of 'new lakon' (theme) inspired by Pancasila ought to be developed.

On March 20, the Minister of Internal Affairs explained that three bills were to be proposed to the House of Representatives, i.e. on regional government, on political parties and the Golkar and on rural government.

Meanwhile through his decree No. 15/1974, President Soeharto approved the establishment of the Boards of Regional Development, to be installed in every province.

The final days of March were filled with activities to prepare for PATA 74.

### Foreign Relations

Much attention was focused on Queen Elisabeth's official state visit to Indonesia which began with her arrival in Jakarta on March 18.

From 3 to 5 March, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the United States was in Indonesia as part of his official visit to several Asian countries. In his press conference, Mr. Kenneth Rush explained that the Indian Ocean could not be permitted to become the monopoly of the Soviet Union and to that end the efforts of the United States were directed towards achieving a balance in the area.

On March 5, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union arrived at Jakarta. After the meeting with President Soeharto, Mr. Firyubin stated that the Indian Ocean was an open ocean. He further stressed that the Soviet Union could fully understand Indonesia's concern on this matter. In this connection, he continued, the Soviet Union would always honor the Indonesian views, especially concerning the 12 miles limits and the nusantara perspective.

From March 12 through 16, Mr. Don Willessy, the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to Indonesia. Mr. Willessy held several talks with President Soeharto, Mr. Widjojo, Mr. Mashuri, General Panggabean and the House of Representatives. The discussions were centered around Lahore's Moslem Summit Conference, the Indonesian Ocean, neutralisation of Southeast Asia and wider regionalism.

From March 23 — 25, Mr. Keuky Lim, Khmer's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in Indonesia.

On March 20, an agreement on extradition was signed between Indonesia and Malaysia.



A conference on Innovation and Technology, organized by the SEAMEO, was held in Yogyakarta. The conference focussed its attention on the reform of the educational system. Changes in the primary school system and non formal education were also very much discussed.

## APRIL

### Internal Affairs

On April 1, President Soeharto opened the 23rd conference of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) in Jakarta. In his opening address the President explained that the development and function of tourism are to be integrated not only with economic benefits but also with the far greater goal of fostering mutual communication and friendship among nations while within Indonesia its development is to be conducted within the framework of overall national planning.

In the course of the conference a seminar was held on Pacific Tourism and 10 resolutions were adopted. The next PATA conference will be held in Australia.

On April 2, President Soeharto led a session of the council for Economic Stabilisation which discussed the problem of possible increases in the domestic price of petroleum.

Meanwhile General Panggabean promoted several senior officers including Lieutenant General Yoga Sugama, the chief of the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency.

On April 9, the council for Political Stabilisation and National Security held a meeting following which the Minister of Information explained that the Government had abrogated the publication permits of the *Pedoman* daily and the *Ekspres* weekly. The Minister further announced that the council had discussed the problems of inflation and had agreed to do its best to supervise and stabilise prices particularly for those materials whose use had widespread ramifications. The government also began revising its policy on bank credit allocation.

On the 8th of April, a three day workshop on Rural Development began in East Java. The Minister of Home Affairs in opening the workshop stated that during the period of Pelita II attention in the field of rural development is to be focused on the areas of continuing research into rural potentials, application of intermediate technology and on the revision of land use and agrarian legislation. He further announced that during the second Five-Year Plan period the government subvention to rural communities had been increased to Rp. 2.000,— per rural community.

On April 16, following a meeting of the Council for Economic Stabilisation, President Soeharto issued an instruction prohibiting price increases for rice, wheat and sugar.

Also on April 16, the Department of Defence and Security held a three-day symposium on the theme "Human Resources and National Resilience".

On April 17, three ambassadors, Lt. General Sutopo Juwono, Major General Sarwo Edhie Wibowo and R.M. Imam Abikusno, were sworn in by the President. In his address the President stated "the world we desire is a world that is free from the threat of war, which will always bring death and suffering".

On April 22, a PANAM Boeing 707 on a flight from Hongkong to Sydney crashed in Bali while preparing to land at Denpasar's Ngurah Rai Airport killing all passengers and crew members on board.

On April 24, the head of the Indonesian Mission to the ICCS in Vietnam returned to Jakarta to report to the President. Also during this period the Indonesian Government refuted North Vietnamese accusations against her.

On April 26, a Presidential Decision nominating a number of Inspector Generals of Development was announced. These officials who will have the function of controlling and supervising all development processes are directly attached and responsible to the President.

On April 27, the Executive Secretary of the Board for the Restoration of Borobudur, Mr. R. Soekmono, was awarded a eum laude degree of Doctor of Archeology by the University of Indonesia after presenting his thesis entitled "The Function and Meaning of Candi in Indonesia".



On April 30, a plenary cabinet session was held under the leadership of President Soeharto to discuss problems related to security. The President emphasized that the January 15 Affair was part of a subversive movement which should not be considered ended. He further stressed that Indonesia should remain cautious enough to meet all subversive movements emanating both from within and from outside the country.

Finally the President declared that the dissolution of both the KOPKAMTIB and the ASPRI was by no means a response to the demands of the participants of the January 15 Affair but was rather undertaken because he could no longer bear the fact that his staff was being made the tactical target in subversive actions. The President emphasized that the ultimate goal of the movement was the overthrow of the national leadership and the restructuring of the state foundation along lines dictated by their own ambitions.

### Foreign Relations

In his address to the Special Session of the United Nations Mr. Adam Malik stated that the formation of a new structure of international economics to meet the urgent needs for a stable economic order and justice for all countries must be accepted as a common task for all nations. Mr. Malik further discussed the problems of food increases and monetary instability which were proving particularly detrimental to the developing countries.

On April 15, while en route to the UNO's Special Session, Mr. Adam Malik held a meeting with Dr. Kissinger who assured him of America's continued commitment to Indonesia.

On April 22, Madam Imelda Marcos arrived in Jakarta for a one week visit to Indonesia. Accompanied by Madam Tien Soeharto she inspected the Miniatur Indonesia Indah in Jakarta and then proceeded on a tour of Central Java and Bali.

From April 3 — 7, the Indonesian and Malaysian Navies held joint exercises in the South China Sea in keeping with the programs of the Joint Border Security Agreement.

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